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Darstellung des Lautstandes in den

Psalmen Notkers

nach der S. Galler Hs

Inaugural-Dissertation

zur

Erlangung der Doctorwürde

bei der

hohen philosophischen Facultät I. Sektion

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vorgelegt von

Edith Elizabeth Wardale

(St. Hugh's Hall, Oxford)

Genehmigt auf Antrag des

Herrn Prof. Dr. L. Tobler.

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PREFACE.

AN attempt to examine into the Phonology of the S. Galler MS. of Notker's Psalms must now appear both superfluous and presumptuous, since Kelle has announced his intention of adding this to his valuable series of works upon Notker and has already published the first part of his work, the "*Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferung, Uebersetzung, Grammatik der Psalmen Notkers*"; but when I began my undertaking, that intention had not been made known, and by the time I obtained the Grammar, I had already advanced so far that I ventured to complete my little study, in the hope that it might still be of some use, if only by serving as material for others. The results of my examination prove that Notker's Psalms exhibit on the whole the same phonetic system which the investigations of Kelle (*Die S. Galler Deutschen Schriften; Verbum und Nomen in Notker's Capella*, etc.) and Braune (as explained in his *O.H.G. Grammar*, §§ 154; 103, etc.; and Paul, *Braune's Beiträge*, Vol. II, pp., 127, etc.) have established as characteristic of his other works.

The dialect is Alemannic:

It shares the Upper German shift of *k* to *ch* in all positions, as in *chint*, 4, 3; *scalcha*, 89, 13; *folch*, 52, 5; [§§ 101; 103; 105]; and of Rh. Franc. *d* to *t*, as in *tag*, 31, 3; *bîten*, 32, 20 [§§ 85; 87]. It retains *î* in the 1st and 3rd pers. sg. of the pret. subj. [§ 47, c]. But traces of Franconian influence appear in the umlaut of *a* in certain instances before *l* + *cons.*, *r* + *cons.*, as in *irfellen*, 117, 13; *keheldo*, 48, 5; *herti*, 7, 13; *wermi*,

18, 7; [§ 2, *b*], and in the occasional substitution of *ié* for the usual Upper German *iû* before labials and gutturals, as in *liébsam*, 76, 8; *tiéf*, 91, 6; *siéh*, 26, 2; *fliégen*, 9, D. 6, [§ 2, 4].

Further, this MS. exhibits in many particulars those striking peculiarities which Kelle and Braune, in the above mentioned works, have pointed out as distinctive of this author. In the treatment of the initial consonant it points clearly to the same original system; the voiced explosives *b*, *d*, *g*, which occur after sonants, interchange with the voiceless *p*, *t*, *k* after consonants.

Exceptions are more frequent in this late MS. than in those of the author's other works, which are of an earlier date, but they are not sufficiently numerous to allow of any doubt as to the original scheme [Chap. VIII].

In the second distinguishing characteristic of Notker's dialect, however, our MS. shows a noticeable divergence:

a, *e*, *i* are here lengthened in a considerable number of instances before Germ. *h* between vowels; *î* and frequently even *ï* are diphthongized to *ie*; *û* to *uo*, in the same position [§§ 1; 4; 8; 9; 17]; while traces only of a similar influence of the spirant *h* upon the preceding vowel, as in *diéh*, 44, 4; *wiéhta*, 44, 8; *duóhta*, 106, 40; [for the complete list see §§ 4, Note 2; 8, Note 17, Note 1; 19, Note 3] or of the shortening of *ie* to *î*; *uo* to *û* before Germ. *h*, [see Braune's *O.H.G. Gram.* § 154, Note 7 *a*] as in *zihet*, 9, D. 9; *hûhe*, 37, 17; *ruhet*, 21, 14; are to be found [§§ 22, Note 3; 18].

The number of instances of this lengthening of the short vowel is so considerable as to leave no doubt that we have to do with a definite system for this MS.; though from the evidence of the Fragments, which in the few instances they offer, agree with the Boethius, Martianus Capella, etc., this system seems due to the scribe alone, who, misunderstanding the principles upon which the

lengthening or shortening of the vowel was based in the original, has consistently misapplied them upon a system of his own, one directly contrary to that of the original, except where a few apparent irregularities show traces of the older forms.

For the shortening of the long vowels before Germ. *h* [*Zeitschr. f. d. A.* 30, 300, *ff*; *Braune, O.H.G. Gram.* § 154, *Note* 7, *a*] this MS. can prove nothing, owing to the carelessness which the scribe has shown in all cases in indicating vowel length; [§§ 15; 17, *Note* 3; 19, *Note* 4; 20, *Note* 2; 27] though it must be concluded from the lengthening of short vowels in this position, that such a shortening was foreign to his system.

Thirdly, this text does not show the careful system of accentuation to be claimed for Notker's other works, [see *Paul, Braune's Beiträge*, 2, 127, *ff*] a point of difference due doubtless to the scribe. Here the accent is indifferently on the first or second element of the diphthong, the number of cases in which it is on the second preponderating upon the whole [§ 29].

Moreover the acute accent to indicate the accented short vowel occurs very irregularly. Examples such as the following: *so sî adâmen teta, do er got wólta werden*, 1, 1; are numerous; while others occur in which the accentuation is fairly strictly observed, as in, *so adâm tэта dó er déro chénun rátes fólgeta wider Góte* in the same verse.

On the other hand, the ending -ent for the 2nd pers. pl. of verbs appears regularly in this MS. as in Boethius, Capella, etc. [*Zeitschr. f. d. A.* 30, 298].

With regard to date, our text offers a most interesting example of the language in its transition stage from Old to Middle High German. It is still essentially O.H.G. since the unaccented full vowels are for the most part retained, but the beginnings of the

various phonetic changes which characterise the M.H.G. period are there—in the weakening of unaccented short vowels under certain circumstances, the spread of umlaut, etc.

For the position of the language at the date of our text, the early 11th century, the following laws may be given:

I. Long vowels, whether medial or final, remain [§§ 30; 47] as in *haltäre*, 11, 6; *erdîna*, 77, (68); *gesibenôten*, 6, 1; *federd*, 54, 7; *helfên*, 87, 11; *darbûn*, 108, 24.

II. Short vowels in medial syllables remain usually before two consonants, [§ 31] as in *honange*, 80, 17; *mannisco*, 74, 8; *chorunga*, 25, 2.

III. The short vowels *a*, *e*, *o* when final remain, [§ 48*a*; 49; 50*a*; 51; 52*a*] as in *helfa*, 7, 11; *habeta*, 21, 11; *sune*, 7, 1; *chome*, 5, 2; *diêto*, 32, 10; *namo*, 8, 2.

IV. *i* shows already the later general weakening to *e*, [§ 50] as in *erbe*, 2, 8; *hende*, 16, 7; *umbe*, 2, 8.

u has become *o*, [§ 52, *a*] as in *disemo*, 12, 2; *gibo*, 2, 8.

V. Short vowels followed by a single consonant, whether medial or final, have been weakened to *e*, [§ § 32; 35; 36; 48, *b*; 50, *b*; 52, *b*] as in *wênege*, 109, 1; *hoûbetes*, 59, 9; *bezzero*, 83, 11; *ateme*, 142, 7; *fogel*, 16, 9; *suozen*, 140, 2; *funden*, 8, 4; *steten*, 77, 51; *herzen*, 3, 5; *bezzest*, 118, D. 29; *haltet*, 7, 11; *âtem*, 134, 17; *tagen*, 6, 1; *fluzzen*, 45, 5.

The syncope of unaccented vowels is becoming frequent, though it is by no means universal as yet [§§ 38; 54]. Examples are: *geborne*, 44, 10; *ferlornen*, 48, 11; *bilde*, 22, 4; *sâlda*, 83, 8; *urtéildo*, 1, 5; *solcha*, 26, 9; *ellende*, 38, 13; *nals*, 2, 2; or in prefixes, in *kloûba*, 88, (13); *gnâda*, 61, 13; or, differing from modern usage, in *himelsco*, 67, 15; *andermo*, 10, 6; *unsermo*, 39, 4; *blaz*, 93, (3); *florenne*, 15, 5; *gnesen*, 33, 12; *greht*, 24, 8.

Again, Umlaut is gaining ground.

Besides the regular umlaut of *a* we find that of *û* probably fully established, although written only in a certain number of instances [§ 19]; and thus we get double forms *brûte*, 34, (19); and *briûte*, 18, 6; *husir*, 74, (2); and *hiûser*, 47, 14; *chrûter*, 36, 2; and *chriûtero*, 44, 9; *sûle*, 74, (4) and *siûle*, 74, 4.

The sound value *š* for *O.H.G. sc.* must be admitted for our text [§ 108].

The later loss of *d*, *g*, and *h* between vowels has begun to appear; in the case of *d* only in the frequently used words *chist*, 50, 10, etc.; *chît*, 1, 1, etc. [§ 83]; of *g* in *antséida*, 37, 16, etc.; *fertréit*, 111, (5) [§ 97]; of *h* more frequently, as in *fêo*, 106, (38); *hóen*, 76, (17); *húon*, 34, 19; [§ 111].

The special Upper German forms with *i* for unaccented *e*, of later texts, appear here in a certain number of instances, as in *festinot* 36, 24; *selita*, 108, 6; *gibist*, 144, 15; *schuldin*, 18, 14; [§§ 40; 53], but chiefly in the glosses.

In fact it may be stated generally that the glosses show special Upper German characteristics more markedly than the text; for instance, when they show exceptions to the law of initial consonants, it is nearly always by substituting *p*, *t* or *k* for *b*, *d*, *g* after sonants [§§ 69; 81, Note 2; 96, Note 1, *b*]; in the glosses also we find instances of an irrational vowel between *r* and labials or gutturals, a phenomenon unknown in the text itself, but still to be observed in Swiss German. Instances are: *eribin*, 104, (6); *chereftic*, 88, (1); *wurim*, 103, (26); *chorinwuocheres*, 77, (2).

In conclusion, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the excellent works of Professor Johann Kelle, already referred to, and of Professor Wilhelm Braune, whom I have also to thank for valuable suggestions upon the Phonology of this particular MS.

To the kindness of Professor L. Tobler, I owe, among other helpful suggestions, the many interesting explanations of forms upon which modern Swiss dialects throw light.

SYMBOLS OR ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Ps. IX D.=Psalm IX Diapsalma, 2.

Z.=the passage following subdivision X of Ps. 118.

+ =the Cantica Quindecum Graduum.

Int.=the introductory passage prefixed to many of the Psalms.

[] denotes a gloss (with figure enclosed, that the whole quotation is a gloss; with word, that the single word is a gloss).

' (in Psalm 113)=the second series of verses.

2.9=two verses in one chapter.

All references to declensions, conjugations, etc., are to the system adopted in Braune's O.H.G. Grammar.

Vowels.

Chap. I. Vowels in Accented Syllables.

a

§ 1. O.H.G. *a* appears in certain instances in an open syllable before Germ. *h*, with the circumflex to indicate a long vowel. These instances are: *âha*, 6 times, 65, 6, etc.; *âho*, 5 times, 45, 5, etc.; *duâhet*, 57, 11; *slâhest*, 16, 14; 138, 20; *slâhet*, 4 times, 7, 17, etc.; *slâhen*, 8 times, 2, 2, etc.; *slâhent*, 68, 27; *irslâhit*, 70, (15); 82, (3); *irslâhent*, 77, 38; *zeerslâhene*, 37, 13; *niderslâhet*, 73, 6; *widerslâhest*, 87, 15; *trâhen*, 79, (7).

This lengthening of *a* also appears in the contracted forms: *gemâlun*, 17, (17); *rânintin*, 90, (13); *slât*, 135, 20; *slândo*, 58, 13; *trâne*, 4 times, 17, 9, etc.; *trâno*, 36, (34); *trânen*, 6 times, 6, 7, etc.; from *gemâhalûn*, *râhaninten*, *slâhit*, *slâhando*, *irslâhan*, *trâhane*, etc.

Note 1. A similar lengthening of *e* and *i*, and a diphthongization of *i* to *ie* [§§ 4; 8; 9; 17] is to be observed in this text before Germ. *h*, proving a regular system, although instances are also numerous in which the circumflex is absent. The latter circumstance is of the less weight, that it is also frequently wanting over original long vowels.

The instances without the accent are: *ahâ*, 5 times, 23, 2, etc.; *ahon*, 23, 2; 88, 26; *ahôn*, 136, 1; *slahen*, 68, 28; *slahenten*, 101, 5; *niderslahinde*, 1, (1); *trahenin*, 79, (7); *trahinin*, 95, (8); *tuaho*, 25, 6; and the contracted forms: *irslan*, 96, (10); *tranen*, 101, 10; 114, 8; or before final *h*, followed by an initial vowel, *brah*, 106, 16; *zebrah*, 77, 15; *sah*, 120, 1; 141, 5; *fersah*, 5 times, 21, 9, etc.; *gesah*, 118, M. 96; 136, 1; *kesah*, 54, 10; 118, U. 158; 138, 16; *irsah*, 84, 12; *negescah*, 77, 66; *slah*, 58, 13; 73, (14); *neslah*, 58, 13; *sprah*, 7 times, 17, 14, etc.; *gesprah*, 105, 23; *nesprah*, 38, 3.

Note 2.—In the case of *âha*, etc., the presence of the circumflex might be explained as a misplacement of the accent, but no such explanation is possible in the other instances. No example occurs of *a* being lengthened before final *h* with a following consonant, but in *fâhssceitelun*, 67, 22, we have apparently lengthening before medial *h* + *Cons*.

Note 3.—In *chrâphon*, 118, V. (161); *gesâtôn*, 131, 15; *willewâltig*, 18, 10; we have merely misplacement of the accent.

châd, 33, 1; *fânt*, 24, 8; *inphânt*, 105, 9; *irstântin*, 108, (25), are scribal errors.

§ 2. (a). Umlaut does not appear before *i* in the third syllable in: *feruarenni*, 38, 7; *fracali*, 106, (17); *irhabini*, 81, (7); 98, (8); *mageri*, 72, (9); *manegi*, 149, 3; *manigi*, 3, 7, etc.; *unscadeli*, 100, 2; 102, (5); *umbestandeni*, 30, 22; *fertrageni*, 93, (Int.).

In *edele*, 75, 2; 102, 14; *edelinga*, 149, 8; *emezîg*, 118, T. 145; *emizigo*, 118, V. (164); *negele*, 57, (7); *negile*, 63, (6); it has been effected.

In the first instances, the presence of the unumlauted forms, *faran*, *irhaban*, *mager*, etc., has helped to preserve the derivatives also from umlaut, whereas in *edele*, *emezîg*, no corresponding forms without umlaut existed, while *negele* has been influenced by monosyllabic nouns of the same declension.

Note 1.—*spanet*, 3rd sg., 57, 8 without Umlaut is on the analogy of the 1st sg. *spannu*; *irwageton*, 17, 8 to *irweggen*, on the analogy of original long stems.

Note 2.—Without Umlaut before *i* in the suffix are: *habid*, 77, (49); *habido*, 72, (1); *zesaminehabig*, 96, 1; *zesaminehabiga*, 96, (1).

Note 3.—To be noted are: *fazwescon*, 17, (46); with *e* for *a* before *sc* as in the modern dialect of Zürich, and the forms *hebit*, 44, (3); *nehebet*, 107, (10); as if a weak verb of Class I.; (see Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 368, Note 2, but also Kögel, in Paul, Braune's Beiträge, ix. p. 521); forms which also survive in Swiss-German.

(b) Before the combinations *l* + *Cons.*; *r* + *Cons.*, umlaut occurs sometimes, at others it is wanting.

Before *l* + *Cons.* it occurs 113 times; in *uellet*, 91, 16; *befellen*, 7, 16; *erfelle*, 9, 20; *eruelle*, 3, 20; 54, 10; *eruellet*, 7, 5; *iruellet*, 36, 20; 56, 7; 90, 7; *irfellet*, 77, 66; *irfellit*, 92, (1); *irfellen*, 117, 13; *neiruelle*, 60, 3; *neerfellent*, 23, 2; *kefelle*, 109, 6; *geuelligemo*, 31, 6; *fellina*, 101, (8); *fellinto*, 108, (18); *iruelleda*, 72, 18; *gefelscen*, 18, 10; *helde*, 8 times, 16, 6, etc.; *heldent*, 77, 1; *keheldo*, 48, 5; *hella*, 7 times, 9, 18, etc.; *hello*, 29 times, 1, 1, etc.; *helle*, 54, (24); *chelbir*, 21, (13); *hellegrûoba*, 87, 5; *helleborton*, 106, 18; *undanchfellich*, 77, (Int.); *wellen*, 40 times, 5, 11, etc.; *welle*, 7 times, 21, (9), etc.; *wellest*, 105, (23); 146, 3; *wellêst*, 89, 4; *wellên*, 122, 1; *wellin*, 17, (28); 93, 14; *wellent*, 5 times, 4, 3, etc.; *wellinte*, 106, (12); *newellest*, 43, 24; 84, (11); 93, 20; *newellen*, 14 times, 13, 3, etc.; *zeirwellinne*, 72, (18).

On the other hand in 172 instances the Umlaut does not appear, in: *alliû*, 75 times, 1, 3, etc.; *altî*, 8 times, 59, (2), etc.; *altiû*, 89, (17); *altesta*, 77, 51; *altisten*, 63, 9; *baldi*, 6 times, 34, 3, etc.; *unbaldi*, 24, 14; 108, 24; *balderen*, 92, 4; *chalber*, 21, 13; 49, 9; 50, 21;

fallet, 5 times, 35, 12, etc.; *uallet*, 36, 24; *anafallet*, 109, 5; *nefallet*, 117, 14; 143, 14; *geuallet*, 28, 11; *gefallet*, 15, 6; 101, 1; *negeuallet*, 103, 5; *inphallet*, 109, 3; *iruallet*, 93, 13; *neeruallet*, 25, 1; *keuallit*, 25, (1); *irualti*, 105, 27; *haltest*, 5 times, 11, 8, etc.; *haltet*, 8 times, 7, 11, etc.; *haldet*, 118, E. 36; *nehaltet*, 118, U. 158; *gehaltet*, 5 times, 32, 18; *gehaltest*, 16, 8; 20, 13; *negehaltet*, 43, 7; *kehaltest*, 30, 3; 70, 3; *kehaltet*, 68, 36; *pehaltet*, 80, 7; *scalchin*, 85, (16); *scaltest*, 20, 13; *manigfalti*, 4 times, 35, 8, etc.; *manigfaltig*, 67, 18; *manigfaltiu*, 57, 9; *waltest*, 88, 10.12; *waltet*, 5 times, 9, D. 5; *gewaltig*, 71, 12; 88, 26; *gewaltigen*, 5 times, 54, 4; *gewaltigo*, 44, 4; *gewaltigin*, 103, (16); *kewaltig*, 109, 2; *kewaltige*, 96, 5; *gewaltet*, 9, D. 10; *willewältig*, 18, 10; *willowaltiga*, 27, 7.

Before *r* + *Cons.* Umlaut does not occur in 62 instances in words of Germ. origin: in *argi*, 54, 16; *argera*, 37, 6; *argero*, 85, 5; *argesta*, 87, (7); *argesten*, 80, (16); *argisten*, 96, (11); *argiston*, 88, (10); *irbarmeda*, 6 times, 16, (9), etc.; *irbarmida*, 4 times, 23, 5, etc.; *irbarmedo*, 102, 4; *irbarmidon*, 24, 6; 50, 3; *harti*, 18, (8); *starchi*, 26 times, 17, (40), etc.; *warmi*, 147, 18; *warmet*, 18, 7; *irwarte*, 52, 2; *widerwartigi*, 87, (16); *unwartigi*, 67, (36); *widerwartig*, 4 times, 25, 2, etc.; *widerwartige*, 59, (12); *widerwartigo*, 68, 22; 72, 15; *widerwartiger*, 73, 10; *kagenwarti*, 105, (7); *gagenwartigin*, 59, (12); *kearwet*, 50, (10); and in the borrowed words: *martÿra*, 33, (20); *martyro*, 2, (2); *martero*, 15, (5); *martera*, 56, (9), etc. It is present in 102 instances: in *ge-ergerôt*, 37, 6; *herti*, 5 times, 7, 13, etc.; *herta*, 16, 4; *herte*, 54, 22; 57, (8).10; *herto*, 39, (7); *hertiû*, 59, 5; 146, 8; *gehertit*, 118, C. 24; *kehertit*, 101, (15); *ferhertet*, 118, I. 70; *ferhertinde*, 35, (7); *neferhertent*, 94, 8; *gerbida*, 68, (36); *gêrmenonten*, 57, (5); *germenontôn*, 57, 6; [for *germenônten*, *germenôntôn*]; *kerminot*, 13, (3); *gemerchen*, 7, 7; *gerta*, 73, 2; 109, 2; *gerto*, 2, 9; 73, 2; *kerta*, 44, 7.(8); *kerto*, 88, 33; *rertendo*, 12, 6; *gerêrtet*, 32, 1; *kerertent*, 57, 3; *erbe*, 34 times, 2, 8, etc.; *erbes*, 8 times, 5, 2, etc.; *erbo*, 40, (6); 88, 29; *erben*, 67, 14; *erbet*, 24, 13; *geerben*, 15, 6; *erbelôs*, 5, 11; *erbelôse*, 102, 13; *erbescriben*, 54, (21); *erbescript*, 54, 21; 88, 4; *sterchi*, 64, (8); *sterchest*, 59, 12; 137, 3; *sterchet*, 36, 17; 88, 22; 118, M. 92; *sterche*, 103, 15; 141, 4; *gesterchet*, 68, 5; *kesterchet*, 104, 4; *werbet*, 117, 13; *erwerni*, 70, 18; *vermi*, 18, 7; *irwerteda*, 15, 10; *irwertida* 68, (34); *kewertet*, 13, 1.

Note 1.—An investigation of the cases in which the Umlaut of *a* before *l* + *Cons.* and *r* + *Cons.* appears in our text, gives as its result the following:

Umlaut appears when all or the majority of the forms belonging to one word-system are affected by it, but when only a few would be so affected, levelling out has taken place in favour of the larger number without Umlaut. Thus in weak verbs of Class I. it appears, since it belongs to all parts of the present tense; in the case of nouns in *-i*, it appears when the corresponding adjective is a *-j* stem, but if the adjective is a pure stem, and consequently both it and the adverb show the unmutated vowel, Umlaut does not appear in the noun. Thus in the weak verbs: *fellen* and its derivatives, *geuellig*, etc., *gefelscen*, *helden*, in derivatives from *herten*, *rerten* and its derivatives, *sterchen*, *kewertet*, and *werbet*, it appears throughout the present, but it is absent in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. of the strong verbs, *fallen*, *haltan*, *scaltan*, and *waltan*.

Altî, *baldi*, *unbaldi*, *manigfalti*, *argi*, *starchi*, *kagenwarti*, *widerwartigi*, have no umlaut since the corresponding adjectives, *alt*, *bald*, *manigfalt*, *arg*, *starch*, *kagenwart*, *widerwart*, are pure stems, although in the case of *starchi* the weak verb belongs to Class I., and shows umlaut regularly. The double forms of the noun *harti* and *herti* correspond to the two adjectives *hart* and *herti*, and the two weak verbs belonging to the system, *hartên* and *herten*; *irbarmida* with unmutated vowel is due to the verb *irbarmên*.

The adjs. with *î* in the suffix: *manigfaltig*, *gewaltig*, *willewaltig*, *widerwartig*, *scalchin*, are due to the nouns from which they have been formed; *alliû* and *altiû* have no umlaut owing to the preponderance of forms without *i* in the inflectional ending, as in all Up. Germ. dialects. (Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 248, Note 6.)

wermi is due to the verb *wermen*, *warmi* to the adj. *warm*. *chalbir* beside *chelbir* is on the analogy of most neuter nouns which, having no plural ending, have no umlaut in the plural. On the other hand, *hella*, *erbe*, *gerbida*, *gerta*, *erwerni*, and the verbs *germenôn* and *wellen* (Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 385, Note 3) show umlaut consistently, being subject to no influence from unmutated forms.

ge-ergerôt is not so easy to explain; we should have expected the same analogy, which worked in the comparative *argiro*, to have affected its derivatives; but with this exception, the rule given above affords a satisfactory explanation of the apparent irregularities of our text, without demanding too much of analogy, whereas it is impossible otherwise to see why the Franc. forms should have sometimes been adopted, sometimes the Up. Germ. since the following consonants are frequently identical, as in the strong verb *fallen* beside the weak *fellen*; *herti*, beside *harti*.

Note 1.—The absence of Umlaut in *bechandi*, 48, 11; 141, 5; *irchandi*, 118, C. 19; *hangtin*, 9, 21; *nehanchti*, 105, 23; *wanti*, 105, 23; *erwanti*, 7, 1; *newangti*, 101, 12, is due in this text as elsewhere to the influence of the pret. indic. *Mannisco*, 74, 8; beside *mennisco*, 220 times, 9, 20, etc., is from the noun *man*.

Note 2.—To be noted is the form *zannen*, 34, 16; to *zan*, without Umlaut, beside *zene*, 3, 8, etc.; *zenen*, 56, 5; a form, which still occurs in Swiss-German.

§ 3. Germ. *a* appears as *o* after *w* in *womba*, 71, 6; *wombo*, 18, 6; 21, 10.11; 70, 6; *wombon*, 45, 5. *wumbo*, 126, 3 is a scribal error.

Note 1.—*a* also appears as *o* in the prefix in *olanga*, 65, 13.

ë

§ 4. O.H.G. *ë* like *a* has been lengthened in open syllables before Germ. *h*.

The instances are: *fêhe*, 35, 8; 72, 23; 101, (28); *fêhes*, 105, 20; *fêo*, 106, 38, with loss of *h*; *iêhe*, 25, 7; *iêhen*, 6 times, 6, 6, etc.; *iêho*, 4 times, 9, 2, etc.; *iêhent*, 7 times, 9, D. 3, etc.; *geiêhent*, 96, 12; *sêhe*, 26, 4; 118, C. 20; *sêhen*, 6 times, 64, 1, etc.; *sêhent*, 13 times, 10, 5, etc.; *sêhendo*, 53, 9; *nesêhen*, 118, E. 37; *nesêhest*, 44, 17; *nesêhint*, 80, (5); *nesêhent*, 85, (8); *anasêhen*, 15, 10; 88, 20; 147, 12; *anasêhendo*, 62, 5; 77, 32; *fersêhen*, 43, 6; 61, 10; *fersêhent*, 4 times, 2, 13, etc.; *gesêhest*, 44, 13; *gesêhent*, 9 times, 5, (6), etc.; *gesêhente*, 88, (20); *gesêhen*, 19 times, 13, 1, etc.; *kesêhen*, 12 times, 5, 6, etc.; *kesêhent*, 39, 4; 93, 16; *zesêhenne*, 36, (32); *zegesêhenne*, 33, 13; *negesêhent*, 5, 5; *anasêo*, 52, (7) for *anasêho*; *anesêhin*, 73, (14); *bescêhe*, 91, (6); *geschêhen*, 4 times, 2, 7, etc.; *geskêhen*, 118, R. 134; *geskêhe*, 121, 7; *keschêe*, 4, 5; for *keschêhe*; *kescêhe*, 66, 4; *kescêhen*, 46, 8; 67, 2; *irspêhotost*, 138, 3; *zêhin*, 91, (4); *geseêho*, 5, 5, with *eê*; and with loss of *h*, and contraction; *zênen*, 118, +; *zêndo*, 118, +; *zênden*, 118, +; *zênualt*, 90, 7; *zênseitigen*, 91, 4; *zênstunt*, 89, (4); *zênteiliga*, 143, 9; *zênzech*, 89, (4); *drittezênden*, 118, +; *fiêrzênden*, 118, +; *funfzêndin*, 118, +; *cêndûsendîg*, 67, 18.

Note 1.—Instances are numerous in which the lengthening is not indicated. They are: *fehe*, 48, 13; 134, 8; 146, 9; *feho*, 35, 8; 106, 38; 148, 10; *iehe*, 90, (6); 118, O. 111; *iehet*, 68, 16; *iehen*, 7 times, 31, 3, etc.; *iehent*, 8 times, 17, 50, etc.; *iehendo*, 135, 1; *iehint*, 99, (4); *zeiehenne*, 118, H. 62; 121, 4; *beiehintin*, 77, (68); *geiehent*, 96, 12; *iehara*, 26, 12; *sehen*, 6 times, 2, 6, etc.; *sehent*, 5 times, 89, 10, etc.; *sehend*, 67, (25); *sehendo*, 118, R. 136; *sehender*, 80, 1; *sehentemo*, 103, 29; *nesehe*, 9, D. 11; *nesehên*, 122, 4; *nesehent*, 9, 9; *anasehen*, 147, 14; *anasehendo*, 2, 2; 9, 20; *anasehende*, 72, 3; *anasehente*, 75, (2); *anasehentemo*, 50, 6; *anasehintin*, 67, (36); *anasehintin*, 102, (7); *fersehen*, 61, 1; *fersehent*, 4 times, 5, 12, etc.; *fersehente*, 32, 18; *nefersehêst*, 137, 8; *gesehest*, 127, 6; *gesehen*, 7 times, 35, 10, etc.; *gesehent*, 8 times, 39, 4, etc.; *gesente*, 65, (3), with contraction: *gesehente*, 68, 24; *gesehendo*, 47, 6; *gesehende*, 108, (18); *kesehen*, 113, 3'; 118, F. 44; *kesehente*, 80, (5); *zegesehenne*, 39, 5; 52, 3; 84, 8; *negesehen*, 46, 8; *obesehest*, 30, 17; *sehun*, 16, 8; *bescehe*, 85, (16); *gescehen*, 12 times, 29, 9, etc.; *kescehe*, 82, 17; *kescehen*, 43, 18; *keskehen*, 95, 6; *negescehe*, 73, 20; *irspehota*, 40, 7; *irspehotin*, 40, 7.

In two instances, *begiêhin*, 103, (1); *pigiêhin*, 74, (2), the *ë* of the infinitive has been replaced by the *i* of the sing. *begihu*, etc., and with it been diphthongized to *iê* before Germ. *h* (see *i*, § 9).

[For the lengthening of *e* regularly whether indicated by the circumflex or not, see under *a*, § 1, Note 1.]

Note 2.—*e* has also been lengthened in one instance before *h* + *Cons.* in *gotedêhte*, 94, (*Int.*).

Note 3.—*gesêwen*, 67, 25; has its *ê* from the infinitive *sêhen*; *bêtot*, 16, 1 is for *betôt*; *êr* (3rd pers. sg.), 24, 12; *êlichôr*, 36, 27; *mêrewega*, 8, 9; are scribal errors merely.

§ 5. O.H.G. *e* has become *a* in *hara*, 30 times, 12, 1·4, etc.; and its compounds, *haranâh*, 18 times, 4, 6, etc.; *haranider*, 8 times, 17, 10, etc.; *harâuf*, 10, 2; *harazuô*, 106, 43; *harachan*, 27, 4; 50, 7; 84, 12; *harachomen*, 116, 2; *haraferworfen*, 118, C. 19; *dannanhara*, 92, 2; a phenomenon characteristic of Notker.

ë appears regularly as *i* in the pron. *diser*, 4, (5), etc. (See Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 288; Note 2.)

Note 1.—*dir* for *dëru*, 54, 20; 90, (12) is a scribal error.

§ 6. (a) The group *quë* results in *co*, *cho*; in *co* only in *comelîcho*, 26, 14; 30, 25; in *cho* in the verb *quëman*, as in *chome*, 5, 2·6, etc.; *chomen*, 5, 5, etc.; and the derivative *chomelinch*, 93 (6).

(b) *ë* has become *o* after *w*, as in other dialects, in *wola*, 74 times, 1, 3·4, etc.; *wolon*, 4 times, 64, (9), etc.; *unwola*, 64, (9); *unwolon*, 64, (9); 70, (8); *wolatâte*, 13, 1; 67, (10); *wolawilligemo*, 37, 20; *wolta*, 1, 1, etc.; *wolton*, 9, 17, etc.

Note.—In *fertrêit*, 111, (5); *antsêida*, 37, 16; *antsêido*, 140, 4; *geansêidot*, 111, (5); *egi* medially has been contracted to the diphthong *êi*.

i

§ 8. As in the case of *a* and *e*, O.H.G. *i* is lengthened in open syllables before Germ. *h* in: *sîhet*, 4 times. 21, 30, etc.; *nesîhet*, 18, 13; *negesîhet*, 48, 20; but the circumflex does not appear in *iiho*, 137, 1; *iihet*, 118, A. 3; C. 22; O. 112; T. 145; *sihest*, 9, D. 14; *sîhet*, 32, 15; 137, 6; *fersiho*, 107, 10; *fersîhet*, 137, 6; *nefersîhest*, 50, 19; *keskihet*, 139, 11.

No instance occurs of lengthening before final *h* followed by an initial vowel; *gerîh*, 50, 6 shows lengthening when final in the sentence.

§ 9. More frequently O.H.G. *i* before Germ. *h* appears as *iê* in our text. The instances are: *fiêho*, 103, (2); *fiêhen*, 67, (12); *fiéo*, 1,

(1); 44, (9); 88, (40); with loss of *h*; *iêho*, 138, 14; *iiêho*, 42, 4.5; 70, 22; 85, 13; *iiêhet*, 75, 11; *neiiêhet*, 79, 14; *siêho*, 4 times, 8, 4, etc.; *siêhest*, 4 times, 36, 34, etc.; *siêhet*, 24 times, 10, 1.8, etc.; *siehet*, 90, 16; *nesiêhet*, 103, 3; *anasiêho*, 17, 23; *anasiêhet*, 75, 3; *durhsiêhet*, 88, 7; *fersiêst*, with contraction, 9, D. 1; *fersiêho*, 117, 7; *fersiêhet*, 4 times, 83, 13, etc.; *nefersiêho*, 43, 7; *nefersiêhet*, 45, 10; *nesiêho*, 73, 22; *nesiêo*, with contraction, 70, (7); *nesiêhet*, 93, 7; *gesiêho*, 5 times, 5, 5, etc.; *gesiêhest*, 36, 34; 90, 8; *gesiêhet*, 5 times, 25, 1, etc.; *negesiêhet*, 93, 9; *kesiêho*, 5 times, 8, 4, etc.; *kesiêhest*, 44, 11; 90, 8; *kesiêhet*, 44, 14; 111, 10; 141, 3; *obesiêhet*, 33, 16; *geschiêhet*, 4 times, 17, 39, etc.; *gesciêhet*, 11 times, 35, 9.12, etc.; *gesciêht*, 29, 6; *geschiêht*, 102, 5, with later contraction; *geskiêhet*, 109, 5; 136, 5; *gesciêhet*, 142, 7; *kesciêhet*, 36, 6; 45, 11; 54, 23; *keschiêht*, 20, 12, with later contraction.

Note 1.—In the same way short *i* in the diphthong *io*, from an earlier *éo* (Germ. *aiw*), with shortening in an unaccented position, has been diphthongized to *iê* in our text in *iêo*, 4, 9, etc. (see § 34).

Note 2.—The long vowel in *pîben*, 103, 32; *rîteroti*, 103, (20); *gîrezton*, 105, 14; *erdpîba*, 81, 5; *ertpîboth*, 34, (16); for *pibên*, *riterôti*, *girezton*, *erdpibâ*, *ertpibôth* is due to scribal carelessness.

Zins occurs once with a long vowel in *zînseîsca*, 49, 8; otherwise as *zins*, 34, (20), etc.

Note 3.—The dative pl. of the num. *drin* with originally short stem (see Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 270, Note) has *î* regularly in our text, as in 118, + etc.

Note 4.—*i* has also become *î* in this text after the loss of medial *d* and consequent contraction in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. of *quëdan*, *chîst*, 68, 15, etc.; *chist*, 50, 10, etc.; *chît*, 1, 1.3, etc.; *chit*, 5, 11, etc.

The form *chûit* occurs in 118, +.

§ 10. (a) Germ. *i* has become *ë* as in H.G. generally in *chechên*, 121, 3.

(b) Further the Franconian *e* appears in *skërm*, 5, 13; 120, 5; *scerm*, 6 times, 26, 4.5, etc.; *scherm*, 17, 19; 77, 50; *skermes*, 90, 4; *skerme*, 21, 20; *scerme*, 45, 10; 90, 1; *skermâre*, 143, 2; *scermâre*, 4 times, 39, 18, etc.; beside the Up. Germ. *schirm*, 5 times, 17, 3.31.36, etc.; *scirmes*, 30, 22; *scirme*, 30, 22; *schirmâre*, 17, 3; 70, 3; *scirmâre*, 27, 8; 32, 20; *schirmare*, 27, 7, with *i*.

The pret. of the verb has *i* always, influenced by the present forms, as in *schirmda*, 19, 2; *scirmda*, 26, 5; 63, 3, etc.

In *scef*, the forms with *e* alone occur as in *scef*, 47, 8, etc.; *skeffen*, 106, 24, etc.

(c) On the other hand those with *i* appear exclusively in the pret. of the verb *wizzan*, as in *wissa*, 36, 36, etc.; *wisson*, 123, 3, etc.; in *lirnen*, 42, 2; 118, I. 68; *lirnent*, 2, 12, etc.; *lirnént*, 124, 5; *gelirnen*, 118, C. 18, etc.; in *triso*, 38, 7; 103, (14); 111, 5; *trisewen*, 32, 7; *trisewe*, 134, 7; *trisewôt*, 38, 7; and in *herebirga*, 77, 28; 83, 2; 131, 5; *herebirgon*, 5 times, 59, 8, etc.

Note 1.—*ëz* occurs 3 times for the earlier *iz*: in 67, 22; 73, 14; 78, 7; while *is* for the gen. sg. of the neut. pron. appears 5 times for the more usual *ës*: 125, 6, etc.; *dis* occurs 7 times for *dës*: 35, (1), etc., but each time in glosses, in which the writing *i* for unaccented *e* is frequent; *ir* 13 times in glosses for *ër*, and even 4 times in the text as in 13, 3, etc.

Note 2.—The adj. *awekkiû*, 77, 8; *âwekke*, 106, 40 (from *âwiggi*) has forms with *e* only.

Note 3.—Latin *i* appears as *e* in *trebenont*, 26, 12; from *tribulare*.

Note 4.—*e* also appears for *i* in *erdîna*, 77, (68); *erdîne*, 82, (8), etc.; *erdinen*, 15, (3); *erdinin*, 59, (2); on the analogy of the noun, while *irdesca*, 82, 11; *irdiscun*, 86, 2, etc.; *irdiscin*, 94, (4); and the various cases of *irdisc* show the regular form with *i*.

§ 11. Labialisation of *i* to *u* has taken place after *f*, *w*, and *qu*. The examples are:

(a) After *f*: *funf*, 101, (15), etc., always, as in the modern literary language; but only in this word, in all other instances *i* remains, as in *pefillet*, 56, (9); *finstrina*, 54, 6; 77, (48).

(b) After *w*: *geuunne*, 38, 14; for *gewunne*; *gewunnet*, 102, 5; *gewunnen*, 11 times, 23, 4, etc.; *gewunnent*, 68, 36; *kewunno*, 61, 8; 87, 16; *kewunne*, 72, 23; 118, P. 119; *kewunnet*, 71, 16; *kewunnen*, 118, P. 119; *kewunnin*, 68, (5); *kewunnént*, 61, 11; *quunnet*, 32, 12; for *kewunnet*; *negewunne*, 108, 13; *negewunnet*, 139, 12; *zegewunnenne*, 4 times, 60, 4, etc.; *wuppen*, 89, 9; *suummente*, 31, 6.

(c) After *qu* always in the three pers. sg. of *quëman*, as in *chumo*, 12, 5, etc.; *chumet*, 2, 13, etc.; *chunt*, 36, (6) for *chumet*; and in the imperative *chum*, 7, 8, etc., and the compounds; *darachumo*, 26, 6, etc.; *follechumet*, 41, 5, etc.

(d) In one instance after *l*: *einluften*, 118, + and in *frunscing*, 41, 9; *frunscinga*, 43, 32; or with loss of *-n*, *fruscinch*, 82, (12); *fruschinga*, 50, 18; *brennefruscinga*, 50, 21.

Note 1.—The process has, however, only been completely carried out when the *i* stood originally between labials, as in *funf* from older *fimf*, *suummente*, *chumo*, *einluften*. In the other cases, i.e. *gewunnen*, *frunscing*, etc., forms with *i* appear side by side with those with *u*, as in *gewinne*, 118, E. 36; *gewinnent*, 35, 9;

negewinnet, 44, 9; *friscinch*, 28, (6); *frischingin*, 15, 4; *frinscinga*, 33, (1); *osteirfriskinch*, 20, (3); *lobofriscing*, 115, 17; though not so frequently.

Note 2.—*wuppen* with *u* still occurs in Swiss-German.

o

§ 12. O.H.G. *o* shows few irregularities. Our text has only forms with *u* of the 1st weak conj. in *lucchet*, 103, 17; *lucchent*, 10, 2; beside the more usual O.H.G. *loccôn* of the 2nd weak conj. with *o* (Graff, *Ahd Sprachschatz*).

Note 1.—*wurhta*, 73, 12; for *worhta*, and *antwurta*, 62, 9; 101, 24; 118, F. 42; Z.; have *u* from the present stem.

Note 2.—*selichiû*, 80, (16); for *solichiu*, is the sole instance in this text of the substitution of *e* for *o*, which still survives in Swiss-German.

Note 3.—Latin *o* appears regularly as *o* with one exception: *biscôufen* (Greek through Latin), 95, (8); beside the regular forms, *biscofa*, 106, (34); *biscofen*, 44, 17, etc.

u

§ 13. O.H.G. *u* shows few irregularities. The form *trohten* of Tatian occurs 3 times, 3, 6; 138, 14.21; otherwise the regular form for our text is *truhtin*, which occurs 224 times, as in 3, (2), etc.

o also appears for *u* in *abolgi*, 15, (4), etc.

Note.—To be noted is *irhiugeda*, 75, (11); if an instance of Umlaut of *u*, the only one in this text.

y

§ 14. *y* is very rare, as in O.H.G. generally. In this text it occurs only in foreign words. The instances are: *gemyrroto*, 68, (22); *cymbon*, 94, 4; *cythara*, 146, 7; *tympano*, 149, 3; *tympinarra*, 67, (27); *zymbon*, 150, 5.

â

§ 15. The circumflex to denote the long vowel is frequently omitted, as in *ahta*, 48, 4, etc.; *dahton*, 40, 8; *faho*, 118, *Int.*; *ha*, 21, (14), from Germ. *â*; or in *achust*, 102, (7); *ateme*, 142, 7; *braston*, 105, 43; *dar*, 7, 16, etc.; *iar*, 101, 28; *gnada*, 40, 11, etc.; *sar*, 43, 22, etc.; *waren*, 38, 13, etc.; from Germ. *ê*.

Note 1.—No true instance of umlaut of *â* appears; *frêget*, 23, 8; with *ê* is on the analogy of weak verbs, Class I., with *a* in the stem.

Note 2.—Non-Allemanic forms with *ê* for *â* occur three times in *zegengêst*, 142, 12; and *anagêntero*, 100, 8; 102, 17.

Note 3.—Of the two forms *râwa* and *ruowa*, the former alone is found, as in *râwa*, 4, 9, etc.; *râwo*, 4, 10, etc.

Note 4.—*reâtisca*, 41, (5), is a scribal error for *râtisca*, the form which occurs in 77, (2).

Note 5.—Latin *â* appears as *â* and *a* in *altâre* and *altare*, 25, 6, etc.

ê

§ 16. The O.H.G. *ea*, *ia*, from Germ. *é* has become *ié* in this text as in Notker's other works.

Examples: *miêta*, 14, 5; *ziérda*, 25, 8, etc.; *sciéro*, 36, 36; *chriéchisca*, 106, (1); *hiér*, 83, 11, etc.; *fiél*, 35, 13, etc.; *hiélt*, 105, 8, etc.; *giéng*, 16, 4, etc.; *sliéf*, 3, 6, etc.

Latin *é* appears usually as *é*; as in *fréno*, 31, 9; *tércent*, 89, 4; *sémen*, 68, 37; but as *ié* in *briéfpuóche*, 68, 29; *werchpriéuin*, 93, (1); *priéuarra*, 68, (4).

Note 1.—*Nidiruilezzin*, 74, (4) is a scribal error for *nidiruliezzen*.

Note 2.—The shortened form *sî* occurs 92 times with the circumflex for *sie*, 61 times without, and for *sie* from older *sia*, as well as for original O.H.G. *sie*, as in 1, 1, etc. *se* occurs twice in 8, 3; 118, V. (161).

Note 3.—*ē* from Germ. *ai*. has been regularly diphthongised to *ié* in *diên*, 4, 5, etc.; except in one instance, *dên*, 7, (14); (Goth. *páim*).

(For the diphthong *ié* in this text, see § 26.)

î

§ 17. O.H.G. *î* in an open syllable before Germ. *h* is usually diphthongized to *ié* in our text.

Examples: *diêhen*, 104, 25; 106, 38; *diéhent*, 53, 2; *diéhente*, 53, 2; *gediêhet*, 1, 3; *negediéhent*, 1, 4; *framdiéhent*, 1, 3; *missediên*, 128, 6; for *missediêhen*; *intlîêhet*, 36, 21.26; 111, 5; *wiêhi*, 29, 1; *wiêdon*, 30, 12; 74, (9); 80, (17); for *wiêhidôn*; *opherwiêdon*, 73, (3); *ziéhent*, 10, 4; 101, 7; *ziêhe*, *neziêhe*, 118, E. 39.

Forms without diphthongization also appear, but rarely, in *gedîhe*, 36, 8; *intlîhen*, 104, 37; *gelîh*, with a following vowel, 5 times, 35, 6, etc.; *kelîh*, 4 times, 51, 10, etc.

Note 1.—The diphthongization of *î* to *ié* also takes place before the spirant *h* in *diêh*, 44, 4, before an initial consonant; *diehsemen*, 103, 13; *diêhsimin*, 53, (4); *wiêhta*, 44, 8; 104, 15; *gewiêht*, 26, 1; 39, 7; *gewiêhten*, 9 times, 17, 51, etc.; *gewiêchten*, 2, 2; *gewiêhtero*, 80, (11); *kewiêhten*, 5 times, 27, 8, etc.; *kewiêhte*,

44, (10); *wiehus*, 73, 7; *wiehûs*, 82, 13; 88, 40; for *wieh-hûs*; *wiechwerch*, 77, (69).

In all these instances the scribe seems to have been influenced by the forms in which *h* stood between vowels; in by far the greater number of cases, he has written *i* before spirant *h*. Examples are chiefly before *hh* (written *ch*) as in: *lichet*, 7, 6, etc.; and all forms and derivatives of this verb; *riche*, 1, 4, etc., *spîchari*, 49, (3); *beswîchen*, 5, 7, etc.

Note 1.—*i* in the prep. *bî* has been frequently shortened and weakened to *e* in the unaccented word as in *be*, 3, 4·8, etc., beside *bî*, 1, 3, etc.

Note 2.—O.H.G. *i* + the vowel of the old present participial ending forms the diphthong *ia*, *ie* in *fiant*, 69, (4); 80, (17); *fiênt*, 8 times, 8, 3, etc.; *fiênt*, 7 times, 9, 4, etc.; *fiendes*, 43, 17, etc.; *fienda*, 80, (17); and the derivatives, *fientlich*, 34, 14; *fientlichen*, 68, 20, etc.; *fientschaft*, 54, 7; and *io* in *frîont*, 73, 3; *iu* in *friûnt*, 7, 1, etc.; *friûndo*, 48, 15; *friûnden*, 84, 11; *friûntlich*, 34, 20.

Note 3.—The circumflex to denote the long vowel has been omitted in many instances, as in: *bine*, 117, 12; *bitent*, 118, V. 166; *din*, 70 times, 9, 11, etc.; *fiant*, 69, (4); *himilriche*, 13, (5), etc.; *chit*, 5, 11, etc.; *lichamen*, 12, (3)·(4); *kelih*, 70, 19; *sist*, 7, 8; *skinen*, 93, *Int.*; *stigen*, 47, (2); *wis*, 49, *Int.*

ô

§ 18. O.H.G. *uo* from Germ. *ô* appears as *û* before Germ. *h*. in a few instances in this, as in Notker's other works. [See Kelle, *die S. Galler Deutschen Schriften. Aus den Abhandlungen der k. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, p. 238.] but forms with *uô* are the usual ones. *û* occurs in: *hube*, 34, 24, [for *huohe*]; *hûhe*, 37, 17; *huhe*, 88, 46; *hûe*, 37, 18, with subsequent loss of *h*; *hûhost*, 58, 9; *huhoton*, 68, 13; *hûhondo*, 12, 5; 39, 16; 113, 2'; *kehûhot*, 20, 14; *ruhet*, 21, 14. Examples of *uô* are: *truôhe*, 68, (34); 145, 7; *truôhen*, 145, 7; *huôe*, 34, (16) · 19, with later loss of *h*; and *muôhi*, 105, 30; *muôhet*, 42, 5; 106, 25; *gemûohet*, 106, 37; *hinamuôhet*, 83, 3, with inorganic *h*.

[For *gebluenez*, 50, 19; see Kögel, in Paul, Braune's *Beit.* ix. p. 541.]

Note 1.—Contraction appears also in a few instances in *zû*, prep. and prefix. These are: *zû*, 2, 5; 9, D. 4; 12, 1; *zûfluht*, 9, 10; *zuspilunga*, 28, 11; *zûze*, 23, 9.

Note 2.—Diphthongization has not taken place in *prûtestôles*, 118 +; *hêizmoti*, 6, 2; *toûmote*, 9, D. (9); *ursôche*, 6, (5); *wistome*, 8, 3; *wistomis*, 29, (6); in each case in the second element of a compound word.

Note 3.—*frôten*, 18, (8); *behôtet*, 33, 21; *unfrôten*, 73, (17); *besôchet*, 10, 5; *sône*, 37, (4); have been corrected in the MS., as also *flûches*, 13, 3.

To be noticed are the forms with *ue* for *uo* in the verb *tuôn*, in *tûe*,

5 times, 2, 4, etc.; *tûen*, 28, 3; 30, 12; 118, K. 78; *getûen*, 11, 5; *ketûe*, 7, 6; *netûe*, 68, 2; *netûest*, 9, D. 12; 21, 20; *netuén*, 9, D. 6; *getûet*, 28, 4; *tuendo*, 118, X. 171; and in *cnuége*, 57, 2; *stuênde*, 49, 18; a dialectical peculiarity, still existing in Swiss German.

Note 1.—One instance only occurs in this text of *ou* for *uô* [see Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 40, *Anm.* 2]: *zougen*, 79, 12 [OS. *tôg*].

Note 2.—*netuôonte*, 106, (12) is a scribal error.

Note 3.—Latin *o* is written sometimes with the circumflex, sometimes without accent: *Rômo*, 79, (14); *rômchêiser*, 75, (2); *rômliûten*, 89, (4); without: *româre*, 62, (10); *romara*, 13, (5); 40, (11); *romchuninga*, 62, (11); 73, (3).

Greek *o* has been diphthongized in one instance, *elimuosina*, 111, (5).

û

§ 19. The umlaut of *û* appears sporadically.

The instances are: *-ja* stems, *analiûte*, 12 times, 15, 10, etc.; *analiûtte*, 20, 7; *analiûtes*, 9 times, 4, 7, etc.; inflected forms of *i* stems: *briûte*, 18, 6; 91, (11); 101, (1); *priûte*, 9, (15); 88, (32); *briûtegomo*, 18, 6; *priûtegomo*, 44, (3); *priûtegomo*, (18); *prîute-gomon*, 44, (12); *priûtegomen*, 8, (4); 50, (10); *siûle*, 74, 4; derivatives with *i* in termination: *gebiûreda*, 49, (8); *gebiûrda*, 106, 2; *gebiûrdon*, 106, 2, with syncope; *gebiuue*, 68, (36); *gebiûweda*, 68, (26); *hiûwelun*, 101, 7; *siûftod*, 101, 21; *siûftôdes*, 54, (1); plurals in *-ir*: *hiûser*, 47, 14; 48, 12; *hiûsero*, 73, 20; *hiûseren*, 44, 9; *hiûsern*, 44, 10; *chriûtero*, 44, 9. Adjs. with *j* stems: *chiûsche*, 44, (9); *sichiûre*, 26, 6; 105, 23. Weak verbs of Class I.: *liûtet*, 17, 17·39; 72, 1; *liûte*, 118, +; *neliûtent*, 113, 17; *gebiûtrit*, 80, (16); *liûterest*, 25, 2; *irliûtertiz*, 11, 7; *siûftogen*, 31, (7), for *siûftôdun*; *irsiûftot*, 101, 6; and in *tiûsent*, 101, (15); *chriûce*, 41, (1); 43, (18); *chrîuce*, 34, 21; *chriucis*, 41, (1); *chriûcis*, 43, (1); 44, (1); *chriûzis*, 48, (1); *chriûze*, 56, (5); 57, (7); 63, (6)·(9); *criûze*, 65, (6); and its verb, *chriûzege*, 63, (4); 108, (3); *chriûzegon*, 63, 8; *chriûcigont*, 16, (12); *chriûzegoton*, 44, 1; 81, 5; *chrîuzegoton*, 121, 4; *criûzegotin*, 37, 12; *chriûcigot*, 43, (1); *nechriûzegotin*, 44, (1); 81, (5); 99, (3); *kechriûzegot*, 46, (1); *kechriûzegotin*, 68, (8); *kechriuzegotin*, 83, (1); *kegechrîuzegot*, 56, (9); *nagechriûzegotin*, 68, (6).

Note 1.—Beside these forms with umlaut, those without also occur, as in *brûte*, 34, (19); *sûle*, 74, (4); *husir*, 74, (2); *chrâter*, 36, 2; *chrûce*, 33, (21). The umlaut must however have been completely carried through and the two orthographies represent the same sound, that of *ü*, for which the writing *iu*, which was

still retained to express the *ü* from the older diphthong *iu* [see under *eu* § 22, *Note 3*] was sometimes adopted, while at others the old writing *û* was still used.

Note 2.—H.G. *û* appears as *o* in *scrodo*, 138, 24; *scrodôst*, 7, 10; *scrodon*, 4 times, 77, (72), etc.; *scrodont*, 24, 10; 118, A. 2; *scrodonde*, 7, 10; *scrodende*, 63, 7; *scrodota*, 76, 7; 118, R. 129; *scrodeta*, 118, R. 129; *durhscrodeton*, 63, 7; *scrod*, 63, 7; *scrodungon*, 63, (9);

Note 3.—*û* has been diphthongized to *uô* before *h* + *Cons.* in *duôhta*, 106, 40; *duohta*, 113, 8; *tuôhta*, 118, *Int.*; *geduôhta*, 33, 1; 77, 65; *geduôhton*, 58, 7; *nidergeduôhtemo*, 61, 4; *gedrûohten*, 68, 34; *ûohtun*, 29, 6; 62, 2; *uôhta*, 62, 2; and in *gedrûoton*, 101, 21, for *gedrûohton*.

Note 4.—The circumflex to express vowel length has been frequently omitted, as in the case of other long vowels.

Examples are: *buen*, 67, 7, etc.; *buwen*, 26, 4; *truwen*, 85, 1; *hus*, 25, 8, etc.; *tuba*, 67, (14); *dusent*, 67, 18; *trureg*, 41, 6; *uz*, 5, 11, etc.; *du*, 3, 8, etc.; *tu*, 2, 7, etc.

ai

O.H.G. ê and ei.

[see Braune's O.H.G. Gram. §§ 43; 44].

§ 20. The diphthong *éo*, *eo* from Germ. *aiw* appears in three forms in our text in the words *eo*, *hweo*, and their derivatives, as in Notker's other works.

(a) as *ió* in: *ió*, 4 times, 2, 7, etc.; *iódoh*, 32, 7; *nió*, 9, 19·20; 18, 14; *niómer*, 11, 9; *nióman*, 9, D. 18; 34, 10; *niómanne* 14, 5; *wió*, 33, 9; or *îo* in *îodoh*, 56, 5; *nîo*, 5 times, 26, 9, etc.; *nîoman*, 37, 16; *wîo*, 7 times, 10, 3, etc.; *sowîo*, 21, 3; 50, 8.

(b) as *iéo* with further diphthongization of the first element, in: *iéo*, 94 times, 4, 9, etc.; *iéonoh*, 71, (16); *iéowár*, 109, 4; *iéowederer* 48, 11; *iéodoh*, 7 times, 38, 12, etc.; *niéo*, 11 times, 7, 3, etc.; *wiéo*, 124 times, 10, 5, etc.; *sowiéo*, 26 times, 26, 9, etc.; *andereswiéo*, 144, 7; *etewiéo*, 89, 13; *wiéolih*, 144, 13; *wiéolicher*, 74, 9; *wiéoliches*, 55, 12; *wiéolicha*, 118, N. 97; or without circumflex, *ieo*, 9 times, 32, 15, etc.; *nio*, 63, 2; 118, I. 66·67; *wieo*, 58 times, 33, (1), etc.; *sowieo*, 88, 13; 109, 1.

(c) in the later form *ié* in: *ié*, 72, 14; 73, 9; 76, 20; *iédoh*, 4 times, 38, 7, etc.; *iégelich*, 93, (2); *iégelih*, 7 times, 28, 8, etc.; *iégeliches*, 32, 15; *iégelicher*, 100, 8; *iégelichemo*, 7, (18); 61, 13; 101, 1; *iégelichemo*, 32, 15; 90, 14; *iégelichen*, 5 times, 17, 27, etc.; *iéht*, 10 times, 4, 6, etc.; *iéman*, 10 times, 26, 6, etc.; *iémannes*, 85, 5; *iémenne*, 32, 8; *iémer*, 74 times, 5, 12, etc.; *iémerheîte*, 103, (33); *iéner*, 8, 8; *iéweles*, 24, (1); *iéwelichemo*, 25, (1); *iéwiht*, 118,

Z.; *nié*, 123, 3; 139, 9; *nîe*, 139, 9; *niét*, 10, 7; 39, (13); 49, (21); *niéht*, 114 times, 4, 6, etc.; *nîeht*, 81, 5; *niéth*, 6, 10; 25, (2); 72, 20·27; *niéhtes*, 5 times, 22, 1, etc.; *nîete*, 139, 9; *niéhte*, 5 times, 14, 4, etc.; *niéman*, 38 times, 2, 9, etc.; *niémannis*, 101, (9); *niémanne*, 17, 27; 118, C. 22; *niémannen*, 4 times, 71, (2); *niémannin*, 80, (5); 85, (16); *niémer*, 19 times, 29, 9, etc.; *niéner*, 118, A. 8; *niéwet*, 58, (6); *niéwiht*, 68, 3; *wié*, 10 times, 4, 3, etc.; *wiélich*, 8, 2; 14, 1; *wiélicher*, 44, 3; *wiélih*, 90, 8; 98, 8; 118, B. 14; or without accent *iegelichemo*, 118, C. 19; *ieht*, 108, 11; *ieman*, 87, 12; *nieht*, 26 times, 2, 3, etc.; *niehte*, 77, 59; *nieman*, 60, 8; *niemannen*, 17, (6).

Note 1.—ê in the dat. pl. of the definite article *den* [Goth. *þaim*] has been diphthongized to *ie* in every instance but one, in 7, (14) as in *diên*, *dîen*, 4, 5, etc.

Note 2.—The circumflex is frequently omitted as in *fehi*, 44, 10; *frehte*, 88, 6; *herro*, 62, (9); *pechero*, 88, 24; *mer*, 18, 11, etc.

§ 21. O.H.G. *ei* shows few irregularities.

ê occurs for *ei* twice in *bediû*, 73, 17; *bédiu*, 100, (8), beside the usual form *beide*, 1, 5, etc., and sporadically in *kebêten*, 49, (8); *égih*, 82, (8); *penémida*, 2, (4) and *keeschoen*, 9, 21.

Note 1.—As in the case of other diphthongs and long vowels, the circumflex is frequently omitted as in: *heim*, 87, (16); *teil*, 101, 25; *arbeit*, 24, 18; *meist*, 35, 6; *ein*, 21, 19; *skeinen*, 88, 25; *weiz*, 86, 5.

Note 2.—*antreht*, 95, (6); *ubirtâilare*, 79, (5); are scribal errors for *antreit*, *ubirtêilare*.

eu

O.H.G. eo and iu

[Braune, O.H.G. Gram. §§ 47–49].

§ 22. O.H.G. *eo* from Germ. *eu* has become *ié*, falling in with *ic* from *eo* (Germ. *e* § 16).

Examples. Substantives with pure stems: *diét*, 2, (1); *tiér*, 49, 10, etc.; *liéhtiû*, 82, (14). Verbs of Ablaut Series II.: *biêten*, 67, 32; *fiêhen*, 59, 6; *ferliêsen*, 13, 5; *ziêhen*, 89, 12; pret. of weak verbs, Class I.: *irliêhte*, 12, 4; *skiêhta*, 100, 7; weak verbs, Class II.: *dienon*, 31, 9; *niéton*, 118, D. 27.

Note 1.—O.H.G. *eo* in the pret. of red. verbs, Class II., has also become *ié* in *stiêz*, 77, 54·60; the only instance in this text.

Note 2.—The numeral, general O.H.G. *fior*, appears as *fiêr* in 39, 5, etc.

Note 3.—Only two instances of the shortening of *ie* to *i* before aspirate *h* occur, [See Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 48, *Note 3*]: *zihet*, 9, D. 9; *zihendo*, 17, 22, for *ziehet*, *ziehende* [§ 24], but without the circumflex. Before spirant *h* it has taken place in *inscihte* [to *sciuhan*] 68, 25; *skihtig*, 67, 2, for *skiehtig*, older *skiuhdig*.

§ 23. O.H.G. *eo* from Lat. *ia* appears usually as *iē* before a labial in *tiēfel*, 7 times, 12, 5, etc.; *tiēfal*, 34, 1; 82, (9); *tiēfal*, 82, (9); *tiēuel*, 108, 6; *tiēfeles*, 8 times, 23, 9; *tiēueles*, 5 times, 9, 7, etc.; *tiēfela*, 5 times, 46, (1), etc., and all cases of this word. *iu* occurs only in *tiūfelslahta*, 103, (20).

Note 1.—O.H.G. *eo* in the pret. of red. verbs, Class II. has been replaced by *iu* in *liūf*, 58, 5; 61, 5; 118, D. 32; before a labial.

§ 24. As in other Up. Germ. monuments of this date, the special Up. Germ. forms with *iu* from Germ. *eu* before labials and gutturals have in many instances been replaced by the Franconian forms with *ie* from older *eo*, *io*, and these are the most numerous in this text. The instances are: Ablaut Series II. before a guttural: *biēgendo*, 79, 12; *fliēge*, 54, 7; *fliēgen*, 9, D. 6; *fliēgent*, 67, 14; *fliēgente*, 101, (8); *kefliēgent*, 103, 3; *uberfliēge*, 138, 10; *liēgente*, 65, (5); *riēchent*, 103, 32; *riechent*, 143, 5; *triēgen*, 61, 10; *triēgent*, 61, 10; *netriēgent*, 110, 8; 118, U. 160; *petriēge*, 27, 4; nouns with other than *j* or *i* stems: *ferrebiēga*, 79, (12); *huntfliēga*, 77, (49); *huntfliēgun*, 77, 45; 104, 31; adjs. with pure stems: *liēb*, 8 times, 7, 5, etc.; *liēbe*, 24, 13; 73, 1; *liēben*, 4 times, 44, (1), etc.; *liēbin*, 79, (18); 93, (11); *liēbez*, 68, 14; *liēbiū*, 89, 15; *liēbra*, 16, 14; *liēbera*, 57, 2; 72, 27; 123, 3; *liēberen*, 49, 5; 51, 5; *liēbo*, 105, 4; 146, 10; *fileliēben*, 88, 18; compounds with *liēb*: *liēbsam*, 76, 8; *liēpsam*, 85, 7; *liēbsami*, 105, 4; *liēbsaminon*, 105, (39); *liēbsangot*, 118, Z.; *liēbtate*, 77, 11; *liēbtāten*, 77, (Int.); *siēh*, 7 times, 26, 2, etc.; *siēch*, 6, 4; *siēcher*, 104, 37; *siēchen*, 16, (7); 35, 11; 56, (9); *siehen*, 102, (7); and its compounds, *siēhheit*, 40, 4; *siēhhēite*, 15, 4; *siēchēite*, 102, 3; *muōtsiēh*, 25, 1; *tiēf*, 91, 6; 148, 7; *diēf*, 91, 6; *tiēfo*, 31, (7); *tiēfe*, 32, 7; *tiēffemo*, 77, 15; *tiēfera*, 76, 17; 106, 24; *tiēferun*, 108, (7); *tiēferen*, 103, (18); *samotiēfo*, 106, 26; *unmeztiēfiū*, 148, 7.

The regular forms with *iu* do occur, but they are few. They are: *liūhtnisse*, 98, (2); the verbs *liūgent*, 65, 3; 101, 24; *zestiūbent*, 147, 16; *fersciūbende*, 57, 5, of Ablaut Series II. and *niūmon*, 32, 3;

91, (4); 94, 1; *niûmont*, 80, 2; 97, 4; *niûmoen*, 94, 2; *niûmeien*, 94, 1; forms peculiar to Notker [Graff. Ahd. Sprachschatz].

Analogy has also acted largely in this text and given *ie* in many instances for general H.G. *iu*. These instances are: the three pers. sg. of Ablaut Series II., from the pl.: *flîeho*, 138, 7; 143, 2; *neflîêhet*, 110, 8; *flîêhet*, 57, 11; 102, 12; *neinflîêhest*, 74, 7; *ferliêsest*, 142, 12; *neferliêsest*, 27, 3; 37, 2; *neferliêrest*, 27, 3; (for *-liêsest*); *ziêhet*, 147, 17; weak verbs, Class I., from the noun: *liêhtet*, 18, 9; *irliêhtet*, 26, 1; 65, 5; 118, R. 130; *erliêhtet*, 33, 6; *irliêhte*, 12, 4; 17, 29; *irliêhti*, 138, 11; nouns in *-î*, from the adjective: *tiêfi*, 7 times, 29, 4, etc.; *tiêffi*, 68, 15·16; 70, 20; *wazzertiêfi*, 32, 7; *wazzerdiêfina*, 76, 17; *tiêfinon*, 67, 23, and in *sliêmo*, 6, 11; *sliêmo*, 78, 8.

The diphthong *ie* also occurs in the noun *diemuôti* and its derivatives, in all but 5 instances.

Examples are: *diemuôti*, 7, (8), etc.; *diêmuôti*, 11 times, 9, 14, etc.; *tiemuôti*, 15, (10); *diêmuôte*, 12 times, 38, 5, etc.; *tiemuotemo*, 100, (7); *diemuôtet*, 9, D. 2; *diêmuôta*, 34, 13; *gediêmuotest*, 17, 28; *kediemuote*, 126, 3; *tiêmuotigh*, 82, (8); *diêmuôtigo*, 17, 28.

Note 1.—The form with *iû* occurs twice: *diûmuôte*, 37, 15; *diumuôte*, 41, (7); the other exceptions are: *toûmote*, 9, D. (9); *dômuoten*, 46, (5); *doûmûotost*, 42, (2); probably inaccurate writings for the later *deumuote*. [Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 49, Note 4.]

Note 2.—*iû* appears as *û* in: *anasûne*, 12, 1; *bedrûzet*, 119, 5; *irdrûzet*, 17, 23; *neirdruzzet*, 94, 10; *begûzet*, 31, 6; *stûret*, 1, 1; *nestûret*, 124, 2; *scûzet*, 126, 4; *netrûget*, 49, 6; *zetûrinne*, 50, 6; *undûrlîcho*, 78, 3; *untûrlîcho*, 73, 6.

This *û* is an inexact orthography for the monophthong *ü*, which had apparently replaced the older diphthong *iû* by this time; the older orthography being still retained as a rule. [See *û*, § 19, Note 1.]

Note 3.—Here also belongs the *iû* from an older *ui* in *fiûr*, 28 times, 10, 7, etc.; *fiûres*, 6 times, 53, 7, etc.; *fiûre*, 16 times, 17, 31, etc.; *fiûrinen*, 104, (19); *plichfiûr*, 104, 32; *blichfiûre*, 77, 48; and the *iû* in *friûnt*, 10 times, 7, 1, etc.; *friûndis*, 103, (3); *friûndo*, 48, 15; *friûnden*, 84, 11; *friûntlicho*, 34, 20; from *î* + the ending of the present participle, the form with *io* occurring once in *frîont*, 73, 3.

Note 4.—The diphthong in *niuwih*t, 70, (19); *ferliuwen*, 108, 11, is due to the development of an *u* after *i* before *w*. [For *ferliuwen* see further Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 49.]

§ 25. O.H.G. *iu* from *eww* remains regularly. Examples are: *diû*, 85, (16); *diuwe*, 85, 16; 115, 16; *niûwe*, 6 times, 24, (10), etc.; *nîuwe*, 136, 9; *riûwa*, 17, (16); *riuwen*, 44, 8; *triû*, 21, (5), etc.

triûwa, 57, 2; *chniûwendo*, 87, (9). And the various forms of the 2nd pers. pron. pl. *iu*: *iûuih*, 4, 5, etc.; *iûwer*, 29, 5, etc.

§ 26. (a) *ié* in this text is thus of many origins. They are

- (1) Germ. *ê*, earliest O.H.G. *ê* [§ 16].
- (2) Germ. *eu*, O.H.G. *eo* [§ 22].
- (3) O.H.G. *î* before old *h* between vowels [§ 17].
- (4) *i* in O.H.G. *îo*, *io*, Germ. *aiw* [§ 20, *b*, *c*]
- (5) Latin *ia* [§ 23].

(b) *iû* is of threefold origin. It is from

- (1) O.H.G. *û* with umlaut [§ 19].
- (2) Germ. *eu* [§ 24].
- (3) Germ. *eww* [§ 25].

au

O.H.G. ô and ou

[Braune, O.H.G. Gram. §§ 45, 46].

§ 27. The circumflex to indicate the long vowel is frequently omitted, as in: *gebot*, 2, 6; *prot*, 20, 10; *lon*, 2, (5); *not*, 30, 8; *hoh*, 98, (2); *bot*, 118, L. 86; *kefloh*, 142, 9.

Note 1.—*gelobigon*, 10, (1); *clobigero*, 7, (8); *globirre*, 25, (5), all glosses with *o* for *ou* before a labial, are scribal inaccuracies.

§ 28. W.G. *aww* from *awj* appears in this text as *euu* and *ouu*. Analogy has worked largely in nominal and verbal forms, carrying those with umlaut into the oblique cases of the noun, or forming an analogical nom. sg. from the oblique cases; and levelling out the distinctions in verbal forms, sometimes in favour of those with umlaut, sometimes in favour of those without. The instances in our text are: Nouns: *freuui*, 34 times, 15, 10, etc.; *ureuui*, 19, 4; 104, 43; beside an analogical *frouui*, 6 times, 35, (9), etc.; *unfreuui*, 42, 2; 86, 7; beside *unfrouui*, 37, (16); 42, (2); 87, (4); *freuueda*, 149, 6; beside *frouuido*, 15, (5); *frouuida*, 83, (3); *frouueda*, 67, (1); *frouuelungo*, 88, (21); *heuue*, 9 times, 91, 8, etc.; with an analogical gen. *heuues*, 105, 20; beside *houue*, 36, 2;

80, (16); 146, 8; *houuue*, 53, (9); *erdheue*, 71, 16; *héstafele*, 77, 46; beside *hoistaffel*, 104, (35); *hoúbluomen*, 53, (9), with contraction; *tiûregouue* occurs only with the analogical nominative in 106, (2). Verbs: *neferdeue*, 101, 7; *dreuent*, 10, 3; occur only with analogical umlauted forms; in *dreuton*, 118, V. 161, the umlauted form alone is found; in *freuuo*, 6 times, 9, 16, etc.; *freuust*, 20, 7; *freuuet*, 18 times, 13, 7, etc.; *freuuit*, 34, 9; 63, 11; *fréuuet*, 4, 10; *freuue*, 47, 12; 96, 1; 149, 2; *freuuen*, 14 times, 5, 12, etc.; *fréuuên*, 68, 33; *freuent*, 18 times, 13, 7, etc.; *freuuint*, 32, 1; *freuuede*, 18, 9; *freûta*, 45, 5; *freuta*, 104, 38; *freutost*, 88, 43; *freuton*, 6 times, 34, 15, etc.; *freûton*, 34, 21; *zeureuuenne*, 105, 5; *nefreuent*, 88, 17; 99, 2; *gefreuuet*, 103, 15; *gefreuust*, 137, 7; *gefreûta*, 45, 5; *gefréute*, 89, 14; *unfreuuest*, 41, 6; with the umlauted forms carried through the whole verb, but *frouuet*, 38, 1; *frouuen*, 34, 27; *gefrouuet*, 42, 4; *gefrouuit*, 121, 1; *fróuton*, 83, 3; *keunfrouuet*, 42, 4; without umlaut in the 3rd pers. sg. ind. pres. and the pret.; *treuent*, 10, 4; *treuton*, 94, 11; with umlaut, but *trouuente*, 118, +, both forms appear.

Note 1.—It will be observed that the umlauted forms are the most frequent in the text, those without being usually glosses.

Note 2.—Here must be mentioned the *ô* in the adj. *frô*, 22 times, 2, 11, etc.; *fro*, 26, 6; *unfrô*, 54, 2; *unfro*, 8 times, 29, (9), etc.; *frolîchen*, 99, 2; with later contraction, beside the oblique forms *frouua*, 112, 9; *frouue*, 125, 6; *frouuero*, 67, 18; *unfrouue*, 67, (5). [See Braune. O.H.G. Gram. § 114, a 3.]

Note 3.—In the noun *frôuuua*, 47, 12; *frouuun*, 122, 1; gemination has taken place in all cases.

Note 4.—The circumflex over the diphthong occurs only in *freûta*, 45, 5; *freûton*, 34, 21; *gefreûta*, 45, 5; *fréuuên*, 68, 33; or over the *e* in *fréuuet*, 4, 10; over the *o* in *frôuuua*, 47, (12).

Note 5.—*loûuuo*, 62, (12); *louuun*, 21, (5); 34, 17; with an inorganic *u* inserted are forms peculiar to Notker [Graff. Ahd. Sprachschatz].

§ 29. In the case of all the five diphthongs in our text, *uo*, *ei*, *ie*, *iu*, *ou*, the scribe has pursued no definite system in the use of the circumflex; *uo* occurs 2395 times, in 1983 of which it is accented on the second element, in 137 only on the first, and in the remaining 275 the accent is altogether wanting; *ei* occurs 2638 times; 1184 with the circumflex on the second, 1098 with it on the first element, and in the remaining cases without accent; *ie* occurs 2736 times; 2022 with the circumflex on the second, 78 with it on the first element, 636 without it; *iu* occurs 844 times; 673 with the circumflex

on the second, 18 only with it on the first element, and 153 without it; *ou* occurs 730 times; 529 with the circumflex on the second, 34 only with it on the first element, and 167 without it.

This irregularity appears frequently in the same word, and even when it occurs twice, in the same verse, as in *huóh*, 34, 16; *húoh*, 2, 4; *kemuóhet*, 105, 33; *gemúohet*, 106, 39; *beîn*, 6, 3; *béin*, 21, 15; *heîl*, 40, 5; *héil*, 37, 4; *fliéhen*, 59, 6; *fliehen*, 82, 17; *sliémo*, 78, 8; *sliemo*, 6, 11; *criúce*, 41, (1); *chrúce*, 34, 21; *houúbete*, 26, 6; *houúbete*, 17, 44; *geloúba*, 49, 1; *gelóuba*, 24, 16; or even in the same verse; *géist* and *geîst*, 141, 4; *heîzet* and *héizet*, 121, 3; *seîl* and *séil*, 139, 6.

Chap. II. Vowels in Medial Syllables.

§ 30. All long vowels remain as a rule.

(a) *á*, which occurs in the ending *-ári*, as in *haltáre*, 11, 6, etc.; *helfáre*, 18, (15), etc.; *lugenáre*, 88, 37; *minnáre*, 85, (7); *richtáre*, 7, 12; *weîdáro*, 90, 3; *scéinare*, 85, 16, has however in a few instances undergone umlaut, presupposing a shortening of the long vowel in an unaccented position. These instances are:—*rehtfolgerro*, 54, (22); *chundera*, 34, (10); *furstchundera*, 34, (10); *losern*, 45, (5); *léitero*, 118, +; *dinchstellera*, 93, (4); with one exception, all glosses.

In *chundire*, 79, (7); a gloss, *e* has been further weakened to *i* (§ 40).

Note.—*arnêra*, 88, (37) with *ê* is a scribal error.

(b) *é* is perfectly regular.

(c) *î* has become *e* in *truhtenes*, 11, 7 and all inflected forms of *truhten*.

(d) *ó* has been weakened to *e* in *diéneste*, 103, 14. It has been diphthongized to *uo*, even in an unaccented syllable, in *heimuodis*, 136, 1; the only instance in this text.

Note.—*merede*, 80, (17); a gloss, is a scribal error for *merôde*.

(e) No instance of *û* occurs.

(f) The only diphthong which occurs is *éi* in *lutrêista*, 82, 1; *lutreîste*, 67, 34; 82, 3.

Note.—Vowel length is seldom indicated, but it must be inferred from the retention

of the original form, since short vowels have been weakened to *e* before a consonant, and in the few cases where a similar weakening of the long vowel has taken place, a previous shortening must therefore be assumed.

§ 31. Short vowels in medial syllables have been variously treated according to their position.

If followed by more than one consonant, they remain as a rule, but before a single consonant, they have generally been weakened to *e*, thus falling together for our text.

Examples before more than one consonant:—

(a) *a* only in *honange*, 80, 17.

(b) *i* in the suffixes *-nisse*, *-isc*, *-ing* as in *liúhtnisse*, 98 (2); *uerlornisse*, 10, (7); *rehtnissa*, 42, (2); *wartnisse*, 64, (2); *irwartnissa*, 37, (4); *dâtiscun*, 80, 3; *himelisca*, 21, 27, etc.; *irdische*, 59, 2; *mennisco*, 9, 20, etc., and its cases; *heidinisci*, 103, (6); *râtisca*, 77, (2); *chuninga*, 2, 10, etc., and its cases; *frunscinga*, 43, 22; *fruschinga*, 50, 18; *iungelinga*, 50, 21; *chrumbelingun*, 66, 5; *stuzzelingun*, 9, 2; *wîsilingo*, 31, (6).

Note.—*i* remains also in the superlative ending *-ist* in *eristen*, 39, 9; *êristin* 118, +.

(c) *u* remains in the suffix *-ung*.

Examples:—*chorunga*, 25, 2, etc.; *ladunga*, 59, (2); *mîdunga*, 34, 26, etc.; *irrafsunga*, 81, (7), etc.; *sceîdungo*, 54, (16); *wuócherungo*, 71, 14, etc.*

Sporadically also in *murmuntun*, beside *murmenti*, 103, (18).

Note.—In some instances however, the short vowels followed by more than one consonant have been weakened to *e*.

These are:—

(a) *a* regularly in the oblique cases of the infinitive, on the analogy of the uninflected form. Examples are:—*zeezzenne*, 52, 5, etc.; *zescirmenne*, *zefehenne*, 88, (14); *zegefliêhennz*, 45, 2, etc.; *zegebenne*, 16, *Int.*, etc.; *zeferliêsenne*, 13, 5, etc.; *zeirsterbenne*, 39, (13); and in *comenes*, 146, 10; (for *commennes*), with weakening also in the uninflected form *comen*. 104, 17. Also in *iêmenne*, 32, 8; where the nominative has *a* regularly, as in *iêman*, 26, 6, etc.

(b) *i* has been weakened to *e*, as a rule in the superlative suffix, from the influence of the comparative forms:—as in *argesta*, 87, (7); *argesten*, 80, (16); *hêreston*, 86, 6; *iungesta*, 29, 6; *iungestin*, (6); *lezzesten*, 44, 14. This weakening occurs twice in *êrestin*, 48, (3); *êresten*, 67, 27; which otherwise retains the older form, from its isolated use as an adverb.

i appears as *e* further in the following instances in the suffix *-isc*:—*hêidescun*, 43, (12), *himeleschen*, 77, 56; *irdesca*, 82, 11; *irdesche*, 73, 20; *israhelitesken*, 87, 1; *mennesckeheit*, 16, (6); *mennescen*, 48, (3); *walescun*, 89, (4).

(c) *u* has been weakened to *e* regularly in *angeste*, 118, S. 143; *angesta*, 142, 4;

angesten, 101, 1; *geangestet*, 62, 2; *ârende*, 32, (5); 104, 27; *iugende*, 24, 7, etc., *mammendi*, 44, 5, etc.; *mammende*, 85, 5, etc.; *mammenden*, 36, 11, etc.; *tugede*, 17, 33, etc.; *tugedo*, 45, 8, etc.

§ 32. Before a single consonant O.H.G. *a* has become *e* whether it be derived from Germ. *a* or from a Germ. sonant liquid or nasal.

(a) Examples of Germ. *a*:—*magede*, 44, 15, etc.; *hinderō*, 15, 7; *îseninro*, 2, 9 (for *isarn-*); *hitemon*, 105, 12; adjs. in *-ag* as already in Isidor and Otfried [Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 64, d, Note 2]; *durstēge*, 41, 2; *heîlegon*, 67, 36, etc.; *wênege*, 109, 1, etc.; *leîdeger*, 34, 14, etc.; *scamege*, 69, 4; and derivatives from such adjs.:—*gîtegi*, 21, 14; *wizzego*, 9, (16); *genotegôt*, 109, 6; inflected forms of past parts:—*chomenêr*, 46, 10, etc.; *gehaltenen*, 3, 7, etc.; *kehêizzene*, 80, 2; *kesezzenen*, 48, 14; *wordene*, 44, 17, etc.; *offener*, 68, 26; or nouns derived from such parts.:—*offeni*, 68, (19); *fertrageni*, 93, (Int.)

Note 1.—The noun *manigi* 5, 8, etc.; has *i* medially from assimilation with the *i* of the suffix; in the adj. both forms with *i* and *e* appear; with *i* as in *manige*, 3, 2, etc.; *manigiû*, 17, 15, etc.; *manigen*, 17, 17, etc.; *manigeren*, 68, 5; *manigero*, 26, 4; the more usual form; with *e* in *manege*, 4 times, 3, 2, etc.; *manegiû*, 39, 13; *manegeren*, 39, 13.

(b) Examples of O.H.G. *a* from Germ. sonant liquid or nasal:—*bitteri*, 13, 3, etc.; *federâ*, 54, 7, etc.; *fogeles*, 90, 4; *hagele*, 77, 47, etc.; *lûtteri*, 17, 21, etc.; *regenes*, 71, 6, etc.; *segene*, 5, 13, etc.; *anasidele*, 67, 17, etc.; *unsuberi*, 21, 15; *trâheno*, 79, (7); *wâffene*, 21, 21; *wolchenen*, 17, 12, etc.; *zéichenen*, 9, D. 10, etc.; *finstere*, 16, 15, etc.; *gesterîgo*, 89, 4; *heîtero*, 87, 14; *heîdene*, 17, (6), etc.; *tuncheliû*, 104, 28; *lasteront*, 10, 4, etc.; *wunderon*, 23, 10, etc.; *zimberon*, 85, 5, etc.

Note 1.—To be noted are *gesaminot*, 146, 2; beside *gesamenot* in the same verse, and *emizis*, 50, 5 with *i* for *e*.

Note 2.—*a* remains before a single consonant in the suffix *-sam*, as in *lussami*, 75, 6, etc.; *arbêit-samiû*, 59, 5; *lêidsame*, 13, 1, etc.; and in *wartsali*, 19, (7); *wartsala*, 65, (13); *igalis*, 103, 18; and *obazo*, 78, 2; and sporadically in *puôsame*, 16, (1), beside the usual form, *buôseme*, 73, 11, etc.; *truôsana*, 74, 9; beside *truôsenon*, 74, 9; and *christanro*, 59, (8).

Note 3.—*o* appears for medial *a* in one instance in the gloss, in *oletruôsono*, 80, (8); with assimilation to the *o* of the termination.

Note 4.—Latin *a* appears as *e* in *mêisteronnes*, 104, 22; *tiêfela*, 46, (1), etc.; *tiêfelo*, 90, (13), etc.; except in one instance, *diêuale*, 90, 6, which retains the *a*.

§ 33. Traces of umlaut of *a* occur in unaccented syllables.

For umlaut of *â* through *ǣ* see above (§ 30, *a*).

Further examples are:—

chumberra, 71, 17; *wurzella*, 79, 10, beside O.H.G. *wurzala*; the verbal forms, *hogezo*, 118, B. 16; *leîdezen*, 41, 7; *geleîdezet*, 55, 6; *liûterest*, 25, 2; *ferloûgenen*, 78, 1, etc.; *ubermegenoton*, 64, 4; *negele*, 57, (7) (*vb.*); *kenideret*, 118, I. 67, etc.; *pleccheze*, 143, 6; *rophezent*, 144, 7; *rûnezton*, 105, 25; *slagezent*, 46, 2; *sprungezen*, 34, 27, etc.; and especially the ending of the present participle, as in:—*uarenten*, 36, 7; *flîéhente*, 84, 7; *sizzentem*, 112, 3; *skéidente*, 118, P. 118.

Note 1.—These forms might be explained as weakening merely, if considered with regard to this text alone, but the occurrence of most of them in earlier texts, which retain unaccented vowels, makes it better to take the same explanation for all and to look upon them therefore as the result of umlaut; the *e* of the present participle may be due to the analogy of weak verbs. [See Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 316.]

Note 2.—*i* appears for this umlaut *e* in *lêidizton*, 101, 10; 106, 18.

§ 34. O.H.G. *e* remains in the text and less frequently in the glosses.

Examples are:—*faterin*, 70, (1); *aftero*, 67, 14; *andera*, 77, 4, etc., and compounds with *ander*:—*andereswâr*, 30, 11, etc.; *unseres*, 19, 6, etc.; *iûueren*, 4, 5, etc.; in the pronominal endings *-ëmo*, *ëro*; as in *heîdenemo*, 48, 12; *ungelôubigemo*, 4, 3; *unscadelemo*, 17, 27; *hóhero*, 97, 5; *manigero*, 80, 17, etc.; *niuwero*, 49, (9); *selbero*, 8, 3, etc.; *chomenero*, 71, 16.

Note 1.—Contraction occurs in *dirro*, 8, 3, etc.; and *unserro*, 135, 24.

Note 2.—*i* appears for *e* in *ubergultimo*, 44, 10.

Note 3.—Latin *e* remains in *ophere*, 24, (18), etc.; *opferon*, 25, 6, etc.

§ 35. *i* has become *e* usually.

Examples:—*himele*, 2, 4, etc.; *hóubetes*, 59, 9, etc.; *ubeli*, 5, 11, etc.; *edele*, 75, 2, etc.; *elelende*, 76, 3; *fremede*, 48, 11, etc.; *luzzelen*, 36, 16, etc.; *michelen*, 36, 16, etc.; *festeno*, 50, 12; *kechriûzegot*, 46, (1); *rîcheson*, 44, (7), etc.; the plural ending *-ir*:—*grebero*, 48, 12; *hiûseren*, 44, 9, etc.; *rinderen*, 103, 14; *welferen*, 56, 5; the nominal suffixes *-ida*, *-idi*, *-il*, *-ila*:—*irbarmedo*, 102, 4; *irdenchedon*, 105, 29; *froweda*, 67, (1); *werltkireda*, 24, 16; *benéimeda*, 24, 10, etc.; *gescepheda*, 101, (19); *spurnedo*, 48, 14; *sluzzela*, 108, (1); *sticchele*, 73, 6; *hiûwelun*, 101, 7; *schéitela*, *schéitelun*, 7, 17; *wurmeli*, 24, 2; the termination of the comparative:—*argera*, 37, 6; *balderen*, 92, 4; *iungeron*, 3, (2); *bezzero*, 83, 11, etc.; *fordero*, 48, 20; *hóhera*, 54, 11, etc.; *langero*, 90, 16, etc.; *liébera*, 123, 3, etc.; *minnero*, 2, 8,

etc.; *uzzera*, 51, 4, etc.; *wirseren*, 24, 19, etc.; the pret. and past part. of weak verbs, Class I.:—*deneta*, 104, 39; *frumeta*, 50, 2, etc.; *hugeta*, 18, 6; *legeta*, 92, 1, etc.; *genereta*, 105, 10; *gestilleta*, 105, 30; *irweleto*, 105, 23.

Note 1.—Instances are however fairly numerous in which forms with *i* occur side by side with those with *e*. Such are:—*himile*, 5 times, 121, 1, etc.; *fremidemo*, 43, 22; *fremiden*, 48, 11; *festinot*, 36, 24; *irbarmida*, 23, 5; 25, 12; *irbarmidon*, 24, 6; 50, 3; *irdenchidon*, 105, 39; *werltkiridon*, 19, 9; 62, 2; *irtêilida*, 93, 15; *wirsiro*, 37, 6; *selita*, 108, 6; *generiti*, 108, 31; *irwelitiû*, 110, 2; *irweliten*, 16, (14). [See § 65].

Note 2.—*i* remains usually in *tîligon*, and its compounds, as in *tîligoen*, 73, (18); *fertîligon*, 17, 43, etc.; *fertîligot*, 19, 5, etc.

e occurs twice in *tîlegon*, 78, 13; and 105, 23; and in *tilegeien*, 73, 8.

Note 3.—Latin *i* remains in *chestiga*, 5 times, 22, 4, etc.; *chestigon*, 22, 5; *ordinot*, 111, 5; *ordinont*, 49, 5; *bredigoton*, 76, 18; *gebredigot*, 67, 9; 88, 53; but it has been weakened to *e* in *bredegont*, 58, 15; *engel*, 35, (13); 90, (11); *engele*, *engelen*, *engelin*, 103, (26); and *phundement*, 81, 5.

§ 36. *u* occurs seldom.

It has been weakened to *e* in *trizzegostin*, 64, (12); *sehzigostin*, 64, (12); *zéhinzegosten*, 64, (12); *murmeront*, 58, (16); *ateme*, *geâtemon*, 142, 7; *uizese*, 54, 24.

Note.—Latin *u*, O.H.G. *a* has become *e* in *chochere*, 10, 3.

§ 37. Instances of assimilation are rare. They are:—

(1) with assimilation to the accented vowel of the stem:—*sibinzig*, 89, 10; *fillintin*, 118, +. (2) with assimilation to the vowel of the suffix:—*ebini*, 9, 9; *irstandini*, 15, (5); 29, (12); 31, 9; *hinawortini*, 30, 1; *samonôta*, 17, 17; *oletruôsono*, 80, (8).

Note.—The retention of the *a* in *brûtsamana*, 90, (9); *wandallichin*, 65, (14); *unwandallichen*, 65, (14); *wandalunga*, 88, (52); *wartsali*, 19, (7); *wartsala*, 65, (13); *wartaseliga*, 37, (5); *unwartaseli*, 37, (5); all glosses, is probably due to assimilation, as also the retention of unaccented *i* in *suilizont*, 101, 4.

The *i* in *sibindin*, 92, (Int.); *sibinfaltiga*, 80, (4); *sibinzegosten*, 78, (Int.) *kedrungini*, 80 (17); *fersachini*, 23, (7); may be due to assimilation, or simply to the frequent substitution of *i* for an unaccented *e* from whatever source, in the glosses (§ 40).

§ 38. The instances given above show that the medial short vowel has, as a rule, been retained in this text; but syncope has however taken place already in many instances regularly. These are:—*ellendi*, 13, 7, etc.; *ellende*, 38, 13, etc., with one exception: *elelendi*, 76, 3; *fursta*, 53, (9); *fursten*, 23, 9; and its various cases; (Otfried *furisto*; *elilenti*); the adjective *hungerge*, 33, 11, etc.; *gebiûrda*, 106, 2;

gebiûrdon, 106, 2; and the pronouns, *derro*, 32, 1, etc.; *dirro*, 8, 3, etc.

Syncope has also frequently taken place in the inflected forms of and derivatives from past participles with stem ending in a liquid. The instances are:—*geborne*, 44, 10; *geborna*, 34, (17); *gebornen*, 131, 11; *einbornen*, 68, (36); *êristporna*, 77, (49); 104, 36; *êrestpornen*, 88, 28; *gefarnen*, 46, 3; *geuarner*, 90, 12; *hinageuarner*, 102, 16; *ferfarni*, 105, (7); *ferholnen*, 26, 5; *ferholno*, 26, 5; *ferlornen*, 48, 11; *ferlornemo*, 57, (11); *ferlorni*, 54, 24; 89, (11); *ferlornisse*, 89, (11); *ferlornissa*, 48, (11); 105, (30); *ferlornissida*, 34, 7; 105, 33; *ferlornissedo*, 5 times, 13, 4, etc.; *irwelton*, 89, (12); *erweltemo*, 17, 27; *erwerni*, 70, 18.

Syncope occurs also sporadically before or after a liquid in:—*bilde*, 11 times, 22, 4, etc.; *pilde*, 16 times, 4, (7), etc.; *pildârre*, 86, (2); *bruôdra*, 15, (4); *kehôrda*, 50, (10); *chilcha*, 74, (8); *chilchun*, 101, (8); 102, (22); *mêistra*, 118, N. 99; *silber*, 4 times, 11, 7, etc.; *silbers*, 38, (8); *sâlda*, 83, 8; 111, 2; 119, 6; *sâldon*, 4 times, 48, 11, etc.; *werltsâldon*, 9, 3; 36, 9; 149, 2; *unsâlda*, 13, 3; *selda*, 4 times, 45, 8, etc.; *seldo*, 106, 7; *seldon*, 4 times, 26, 4, etc.; *burgseldo*, 106, 4; *seldâre*, 118, C. 19; *unsûbri*, 16, 14 (15); 65, (13); *unsûbren*, 16, 15; *suerden*, 40, 4; *wundrin*, 101, (28); *torclis*, 80, (5); *uberteilda*, 34, 23; *uberteildo*, 34, 23; *urtéildo*, 11 times, 1, 5, etc.; *urtéildon*, 9 times, 18, (12), etc.; *urteîldare*, 63, (7); *ziêrda*, 25, 8; 92, 1; 103, 1; *ziêrdo*, 143, 12; *hoûbetziêrda*, 102, 4; *andra*, 69, (6); 70, (1); *andre*, 88, (21); *andriû*, 81, (1); 88, (8); *andren*, 95, (8); *andrin*, 75, (2); *andrun*, 82, (1); 95, (10); *andermo*, 21 times, 10, 6, etc.; *andirmo*, 84, (11); *anderro*, 119, 5; 146, 3; *altrin*, 79, (11); *êrro*, 88, (42); *êrra*, 78, (Int.) 101, (24); *êrron*, 70, (7); *finstrên*, 87, 7; *himilsce*, 93, (Int.); *himelsco*, 67, 15; *himelsca*, 84, 12; *himilscun*, 86, (7); *himelskiû*, 114, 4; *himilskiû*, 88, 5; *himilsciû*, 38, (1); *liêbra*, 16, 14; *luzzelmo*, 41, 7; 42, 3; *gesilbertun*, 67, 14; *ubersilbertiû*, 67, (14); *solcher*, 85, 7; *solchero*, 88, 3; 93, 17; 79, 7; *solcha*, 26, 9; 62, 4; 94, 10; *solchiû*, 9, 17; *solchemo*, 62, 6; *solchen*, 4 times, 9, D. 3; *solche*, 9 times, 9, 4, etc.; *ubelmo*, 139, 2; *sowedermo*, 48, 3; *winstra*, 72, (24); *winstrun*, 6 times, 19, (7), etc.; *iuwermo*, 4 times, 75, (4), etc.; *iûwerro*, 77, 2; 105, 1; *unsermo*, 7 times, 39, 4, etc.; *unserro*, 17 times, 34, 25, etc.; *unsriû*, 16, (14); *bildot*, 48, 20; 94, 9; *bildont*, 47, 14; *bildoe*, 118, B. 9; *bildoen*, 88,

25; *bildoton*, 105, 19; 118, K. 73; *nebildont*, 94, 9; *nebildeiest*, 36, 1; *forebildotost*, 73, 13; *widerbildot*, 92 (*Int.*); *geliûtrit*, 80, (16); *irmundrit*, 76, (4); *seldôt*, 77, 55; *seldôn*, 131, 5.

Note 1.—In the case of *bilde* and *salda*, the syncopated forms are by far the most frequent, the full forms occurring only in *biledera*, 68, (37); *pilide*, 35, (1); *ferbilidot*, 80, (17); *sâlda*, 68, (5); 83, (5); *werltsâlda*, 35, (8); *werltsâlidon*, 67, (14); 81, (5); all glosses. *Chilichun* occurs 28, (8); *chilechun*, 143, 12; *chilichon*, 106, (24); *kehoreda*, 50, (10); *silberis*, 118, I. 72; *ziêredon*, 118, +; *ziêreda*, 20, 6; hence the two forms are fairly equally frequent.

Note 2.—Other instances of syncope are *manton*, 37, 17; *gehîton*, 105, 36; *gesente*, *zênde*, *trâne*, etc., with loss of medial *h* [see under *h* § 199]; *wêlez*, etc., with loss of medial *ch* [see under *ch* § 112, Note 2].

Note 3.—The borrowed word *martra*, 29, (13); 87, (1); *martro*, 9 times, 16, 4, etc., also shows syncope, beside the full forms *martera*, 56, (9); *martero*, 9 times, 15, 5, etc.

§ 39 An irrational vowel has been generated.

(a) regularly between *l* and *w* in *balewe*, 68, (12); *felewa*, 136, 2; *helewa*, 34, 18 and its various cases; and in the various cases of *chalawi*, 46, (1), etc.; *chalawer*, 46, (1).

(b) between *r* and *w* in *farewa*, 118, Q. 127; the various forms of *garewi*, 9, D. 17, etc., and its derivatives *gariwint*, 118, + etc.; *horewe*, 39, 3, etc.; *serewen* (adj.) 118, S. 139, and its derivative *serewên*, 38, 12, etc.

(c) regularly between *s* and *w* in *trisewe*, 134, 7, and its derivative, *trisewôt*, and in the various forms of *zesewa*, 25, 10, etc.; *zesuwun*, 44, 10, etc.

(d) Also between *l* and *h*; *r* and *h* in:—*beuolehen*, 98, 7; *furehe*, 64, 11.

(e) Further between *r* and the consonants *b*, *f*, *l*, *m*, *n*, in:—*eribin*, 104, (6); *erstériben*, 3, 7; *chereftic*, 88, (1); *charilis*, 98, (9); *weriltsâldon*, 105, (13); *kerimwilligin*, 83, (12); *wurim*, 103, (26); *chorinwuócheres*, 77, (2); *chorinwuócheris*, 147, 14.

(f) Before *w* after *n*, *t*, *z*, in *senewa*, 59, 6; *scatuwe*, 83, (10); *scatewet*, 90, 4; *zewêne*, 24, 10; *zewéin*, 88, 53; *zewelf*, 85, (16); *zewelfo*, *zewelfen*, *zewelfto*, 118, +; *zewisken*, 85, 11; 105, 9; *zewîuele*, 105, 33; *zewîuelon*, 118, C. 21; *zewiualtin*, 108, (29); *zewîuelondo*, 105, 33.

Note 1.—From these examples it will be seen that the vowel thus produced, appears in this text usually as *e*, but that it is necessary to distinguish between the text itself and the glosses. In the former we find an excrescent *e* generated between

the consonants $l + w$; $r + w$; $s + w$; $l + h$; and $r + h$; as in all H.G. dialects, and also before $-w$ after certain other consonants; and further, that the e thus generated, remains except in one instance, where it has become u from the influence of the w , i.e. in *zesuwun*, 44, 10; whereas in the glosses we get an excrescent vowel produced also between $-r$ and a following consonant other than $-h$ or $-w$; an Up. Germ. characteristic, and this e appears frequently as i , —also an Upper German characteristic, which appears under all circumstances more often in the glosses than in the text. In one instance here also u appears for this excrescent e in *scatuwe*, 83, (10).

Two exceptions to these rules occur, *erstêriben*, 3, 7; and *chorinwuôcheris*, 147, 14; with an irrational vowel between r and b , and r and n , in the text; interesting forms from the tendency of the modern dialect of Zurich to insert such vowels between r and any following consonant.

Note 2.—To be noted are: —*durenachte*, 73, (14), with subsequent loss of h after the irrational vowel; *ougetost*, 18, (8), on the analogy of short stemmed verbs, of the 1st weak conjugation, and *unwartelicha*, 21, 1.

§ 40. A tendency exists in this text as in other Upper Germ. monuments of this period to substitute an i for unaccented e , of whatever origin. Examples of this have been given under the various vowels, as in i for e from a in *gesaminot*, 146, 2; *keleidegot*, 20, 10; *emizis*, 50, 5; *leidizton*, 101, 10, etc.; i for original e in *ubergultimo*, 44, 10; i for e from i in *himile*, 121, 1, etc.; *fremiden*, 48, 11; *festinot*, 36, 24; *irdenchidon*, 105, 39; *selita*, 108, 6 [see under i § 35, *Note 1*].

But in the glosses i appears far more frequently for unaccented e , whatever its origin.

Examples:—*angistin*, 30, (10); *ârinde*, 85, (16); *âttime*, 82, (3); *irbarmida*, 88, (25); *figinta*, 67, (31), etc.; *toniristac*, 80, (1); *ficise*, 34, (19); *frowido*, 15, (5); *heîlida*, 21, (3); *hemide*, 21, (19); *gesche-phido*, 29, (10); *spurnida*, 105, (36); *éinimo*, 30, (10), etc.; *héidinen*, 34, (19); *mihila*, 30, (4); *ubilo*, 47, (13), etc.; *ubiliro*, 100, (4); *sesiwa*, 97, (2); *hohistin*, 72, (11), etc.; *sehzigostin*, 64, (12); *leidizzin*, 91, (12); *wandilost*, 101, (28); *farinton*, 64, (2); *haltintimo*, 17, (51); *prenninte*, 103, (4); *nidirrise*, 7, (2); *nefirfirrest*, 118, F. (43); *widirrefsin*, 93, (10); and in the borrowed word, *engile*, 18, (14); *engila*, 49, (5), etc.

Note.—These forms are the most numerous in the glosses and must be taken as normal for them. e however does appear, and in the same words as those given above as examples of i , as in *ârende*, 32, (5); *figenden*, 68, (19); *irbarmida*, 16, (9); *froweda*, 67, (1); *heidenon*, 17, (32); *Micheliu*, 103, (27); *Michelero*, 81, (2); also in *bedeccheda*, 89, (17); *petruccheda*, 55, (1); *fernumeste*, 73, (18), etc.; *chomelinch*, 93, (6); *haltento*, 46, (6); *tenchende*, 2, (4); *dînemo*, 4, (7), etc.; *ubelo*, 5, (6); *himele*, 14, (1); *wizzegin*, 16, (4), etc.

Vowels of Prefixes.

§ 41.—The O.H.G. prefix *bî- bi-* appears as *be-* or *pe-* in this text, as in:—*nebedarf*, 9, D. 14, etc.; *beuore*, 16, 11, etc.; *peginnet*, 5, 5, etc.; *pehuóten*, 18, 12; *bechennen*, 31, 1, etc.; *peldz*, 68, (14); *besaz*, 21, 17; *zebesuóchenne*, 16, 3; *bewándon*, 20, 12; *benéimido*, 24, (12); *penéimida*, 74, (9), etc.

Note 1.—For forms with *i* in the glosses see § 40.

Note 2.—In *bîgihte*, 74, (2); *pîgihte*, 67, (28); 74, (2), forms with *î* occur side by side with those with *i*, as in *bigihte*, 75, (2); *pigiht*, 75, (11); a peculiarity of this author [Graff. Ahd. Wortschatz.].

§ 42. O.H.G. *ar-* has been differentiated to *ur-* and *ir-* or *er-*.

(a) *ur-* appears as the nominal prefix under stress of accent.

Examples:—*urdáhtin*, 17, (46); *urchunde*, *urchundo*, 18, 8, etc.; *urlosa*, 34, (8); (only in Notker); *urlub*, 73, 5; *urspring*, 35, 10, etc.; *urstendida*, 3, (8), etc.; *ursuóch*, 70, (3).

(b) *ir-* *er-* appear indifferently in writing in the verbal prefix, frequently interchanging in the same word.

Examples:—*irblendet*, 6, 6, etc.; but *erblendent*, 18, 13; *irfaren*, 58, 13; but *erfaren*, 35, 7; *irfurbet*, 65, 10; *ercham*, 67, 28; *irchanda*, 103, 19; *irchandon*, 96, 5; but *erchanda*, 90, 14; *irsterben*, 8, 6, etc.; *irsturbin*, 43, 22; but *erstériben*, 3, 7; *irsuóchet*, 17, 31; *irtéilo*, 74, 3; but *erteilet*, 134, 14; *erwant*, 18, 7.

Note 1.—*urchundon*, 80, 9; *urchundot*, 118, B. 14, are new formations from the noun; *irslagini*, 88, (52); *irtéileda*, 110, 7; *irwartnissa*, 37, (4), are formed from the verb.

Note 2.—*ar-* remains in *ardingun*, 2, 1; 9, 2, which, in its adverbial use had become isolated from its system.

Note 3.—From the use of the two forms *ir-*, *er-* indifferently, it must be inferred that *er-* already represented the actual sound, though the older writing *ir-* was frequently retained.

§ 43 O.H.G. *far-* has become *fer-*, as in *ferléiten*, 10, 3; *ferliûs*, 53, 7; *fertreget*, 7, 12; *ferchoren*, 118, S. 141; *uerlornisse*, 10, (7).

Note 1.—It occurs as *uir-* in *uirchunst*, 24, 14.

§ 44. *zuó-* is the usual form for both verbal and nominal prefix, as in *zuófluht*, 30, 3, etc.; *zuógát*, 63, 8; *zuóhaften*, 76, (3); *zuógezogen*, 59, 6; *zuógeslungene*, 61, 11; *zuógesprochen*, 33, 9, etc.

The weakened form *ze-* occurs only in the preposition, 1, 1·5, etc.; and as prefix in *zebráche*, 4 times, 29, 12, etc.; *zeworfen*, 21, 15.

§ 45. The O.H.G. prefix *ant-* appears as *ant-*, *int-*, and *in-*.

(a) The accented form *ant-* in nouns, adjs. and verbs formed from nouns. Examples:—*antfang*, 21, 1, etc.; *antfrista*, 59, (2); *antfris-tungon*, 10, (4); *antheizza*, 115, 19; *antláz*, 101, (21); *antreht*, 115, (6); *antséida*, 37, 16; *antuurte*, 14, 1, etc.; *antsázig*, 11, 5; and the verbs *antfristoton*, 118, C. 19; *antwurtet*, 14, 2; *geantheizota*, 131, 2; *antséidont*, 139, 10.

(b) The unaccented forms *int-* and *in-* in verbs and new formations from verbs. Examples:—*int-* in *inthabe*, 93, 13; *intheizzent*, 75, 12; *intlad*, 38, 14; *intliéz*, 113, 8; *intrihetet*, 95, 10; *intsláfo*, 15, 9; *intsaget*, 118, E. 39; *intsazta*, 44, 17; *intwerent*, 88, 32; and the noun *inthéiza*, 21, 26, etc.; *intheíze*, 75, 12; *intheizza*, 4 times, 55, 12, etc.; from the analogy of the verb.

in- in *inberen*, 78, 9; *inbrinnet*, 17, 9; *infáhet*, 18, 12, etc.; *inphin-dent*, 30, 10, etc.; *ingangen*, 54, 22; *ingelten*, 34, 15, etc.; *inchonda*, 50, 2; *neinsláffe*, 12, 4; and in *infangare*, 3, 4; *inphangere*, 53, 6, etc.; *infindida*, 33, (20); *inphintliches*, 90, (10), formations from the verb.

Note.—For the prefix *in* see under *t* § 91, *Note 2, c.*

§ 46. Syncope of the vowel of the prefix is frequent. It occurs as in O.H.G. generally, in *frázzen*, 78, 7, etc.; and *ergázen*, 105, 22; and in this text also in the following instances:—*blaz*, 93, (3); *plaz*, 27, (2); *blazzin*, 105, (23); *flure*, 15, 5; *florenne*, 15, 5; *floreni*, 139, 12; *florennissido*, 106, (20); *kéiscot*, 97, 3; *geiscota*, 96, 8; *glichnisso*, 24, (10); in *glouba*, 68, (22), as in Mod. Germ., and its various forms, *glóubo*, 7 times, 17, (20), etc.; *kloúba*, 88, (13); *kloúbo*, 44, (15); *glóúbigen*, 28, (1); *glóúbigero*, 17, (12); *cloúbigen*, 7, (8); *unglóúbigen*, 7, (8); *clobigera*, 7, (8); *glóúben*, 34, (16); *gloubint*, 13, (5); *neglóúbet*, 25, 1; *neglóúbton*, 77, 22; *globirre*, 25, (5); *glóúbirron*, 34, (4); *glóúbirren*, 47, 13; *kloúbirra*, 30, (12); *kloubirraro*, 31, (6); *glóúbtriwo*, 92, (1); *gloubowerrárin*, 90, (13); *glust*, 12, (3); 74, (5); *glusto*, 67, (15); in *gnáda*, 61, 13, etc.; *gnádon*, 12 times, 24, 8, etc.; *gnádig*, 61, 13; *gnádiger*, 61, 13; *gnadigo*, 25, 2; *knádig*, 78, 9; *gnáde*, 7 times, 4, 2, etc.; *gnádee*, 66, 2; *gnádet*, 36, 21; *gnádest*,

101, 14; *gnaden*, 65, 20; *knáde*, 37, 3; 55, 2; 66, 2; *cnáde*, 50, 6; 118, H. 58; *cnáda*, 85, 3; as in Mod. Germ.; in *gniset*, 36, 33; *gnesen*, 33, 12; 79, 4; *knesen*, 37, 8; *negniset*, 32, 17; *knist*, 9, D. 2; *gnóto*, 2, 8; *cnóto*, 98, 6; *knóto*, 37, 21; *knóte*, 111, (5); *gnózscaft*, 21, 22; *gnuóge*, 36, 27; *cnuége*, 57, 2; *gnuhte*, 29, 7; *grehti*, 25, 12; 139, 12; *greht*, 24, 8; 35, 11; *grehter*, 24, 8; *grehte*, 24, 21; 31, 11; 35, 11; *grehten*, 24, 4; 50, 12; *creht*, 18, 9; 73, (11); *crehto*, 15, 6; 93, (16); *crehte*, 32, 4; 139, 14; *grihti*, 36, 37; 58, 6; *crehtén*, 32, 1; *ungrehti*, 139, 12; *ungreht*, 35, 11; *grehterzen*, 96, 11; *unguissen*, 50, 8; and *guhhte*, 24, 7, after the loss of medial *h*; a characteristic of the date rather than the dialect. (See Braune O.H.G. Gram. §§ 71, Note 4; but 76, Note 3.)

Note 1.—To note are *quan*, 76, 5; *quunnet*, 32, 12; with *qu* for *kew*.

Chap. III. Vowels in Final Syllables.

§ 47. Long vowels remain whether final or followed by a consonant.

(a) *e* appears for *á* in *ahsele*, 59, (8); otherwise the treatment of *á* calls for no remark.

(b) To be noted are the subj. forms of weak verbs, Class III. with *ee*, such as :—*éreen*, 10, 5; *fáreen*, 103, 20; *folgee*, 60, 4; *genadeest*, 101, 14; *haree*, 140, 1; *hazzeen*, 128, 5; *lebeen*, 146, 9; *lirnee*, 98, 4; with the *e* of the ending added to the *é* of the stem; and those with *eie*, such as :—*fasteien*, *beteien*, 70, (7); *nebildeiest*, *neneméist*, 36, 1; *fordereien*, 77, 7; *irgebéist*, 141, 8; with *i* for an older *j*, the latter forms occurring only in this one of Notker's Works, the former being general for his dialect as well as Bav. (Paul, Braune's Beit IX. p. 507).

(c) Alem. also is the retention of the *i* (for *î*) in the 1st and 3rd pers. sg. pret. subj., as in *beteti*, 118, V. 161; *habiti*, 90, 9; *mahti*, 35, 2, etc.; *bechandi*, *wissi*, 48, 11, etc.

î has been shortened and weakened to *e* in *truhten*, 4, 4, etc.; and in the gloss *wendeg*, 41, (5).

Note.—In *neirchamen*, 115, 15; the pret. indic. has been substituted for the subj.

(d) The subj. forms with *oe* of the 2nd weak Conj. such as :—*kear-*

gerôen, 22, 4; *betoen*, 94, 6, etc.; *bezzeroen*, 95, 9; *danchoen*, 137, 4, *geéiscoen*, 108, 27; *chlagoe*, 114, 4; *tuôen*, 76, 5, etc.; or with *oie* as in *betoien*, 96, 7; *tuôien*, 9, 18, etc.; *keéiscoien*, 82, 19; are to be explained like those above under *b*. [See also Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 310].

Note.—The ending *-en* in the dat. pl. of weak adjs. as in *beiden*, 30, 1, etc.; *bezzesten*, 1, 5, etc.; *kuôten*, 82, (14); *sarfen*, 34, 17; *soûffenten*, 27, 1, etc.; is the strong form substituted for the weak. [Kelle, die Psalmen Notkers, p. 137.]

(*e*) *toûgenen*, 126, 4; is the masc. form with *-um* substituted for the fem. in *-ûn*.

(*f*) *ou* is the only diphthong which occurs in a final syllable, in *urlub*, 73, 5, with weakening to *u*.

§ 48. Short vowels remain usually when final, but when followed by a consonant, they have as a rule been weakened to *e*.

(*a*) O.H.G. *a* remains when final, as in:—*helfa*, 7, 11, etc.; *reda*, 102, 5, etc.; *disa*, 13, 1, etc.; *érera*, 84, 6 (fem. sg.); *habeta*, 21, 11, etc.; *lebeta*, 58, 13, etc.; (pret. ind. sg.); *wola*, 1, 3, etc.; *wanda*, 1, 1, etc.

Note 1.—*a* has been weakened to *e* in:—*abe* (in *abeiro*), 5, 11, etc.; *danne*, 1, 5, etc., the usual form in this text, beside a rare *danna*, 37, 6; 57, 10; in *wanne*, 18, 10, etc.: *obe*, 9, D. 18, etc.; and once in *helle*, 54, (24), in the gloss, and *urteilde*, 80, (5); also a gloss.

It has fallen altogether in *ab*, 92, (Int.); and 103, (3).

Note 2.—The forms *tische*, 22, 5; and *dische*, 77, 20; with final *e*, appear for the Latin sg. *mensam*.

Note 3.—*offena*, 9, (1); with *a* is merely from the Latin neuter pl. ending in *manifesta*, to which it is a gloss. *newa*, 109, 3; is for *newan*.

Note 4.—*urlosa*, 34, (8); occurs only in this text.

(*b*) When followed by a consonant O.H.G. *a* has usually been weakened to *e*, whatever its origin. Examples:—*fogel*, 16, 9, etc.; *hagel*, 17, 13; *wehsel*, 88, 52, etc.; *eîter*, 13, 3; *hunger*, 21, 30, etc.; *lûter*, 11, 7, etc.; *wunder*, 25, 7, etc.; *wûocher*, 1, 3, etc.; *zimber*, 98, (7); *zoûfer*, 57, 6; *sunder*, 54, (1), etc.; *comen*, 104, 17; *eben*, 62, 9, etc.; *segen*, 3, 9, etc.; *ûfen*, 17, 16, etc.; *wâfen*, 34, 2, etc.; *wolchen*, 17, 13; *zeîchen*, 17, 15, etc.; in the suffix *-ag*:—*leîdeg*, 6, 11, etc.; *scameg*, 24, 20, etc.; *trureg*, 41, 6, etc.; *wêneg*, 37, 7; in the ending of the acc. sg. mas., the nom. and acc. sg. neuter of the strong adj. decl.:—*argen*, 32, 7, etc.; *frolîchen*, 99, 2; *mennischen*, 27,

1, etc.; *suozen*, 140, 2, etc.; and the noun *truhtenen*, 17, 7; *gebluenez*, 50, 19; *kebressotez*, 83, 3; *gahez*, 57, 8; *kemuletez*, 50, 19; *liéhsenez*, 18, 9; *rehtez*, 77, 39; *selbez*, 39, 13, etc.; *welez*, 2, 8, etc.; in the endings of the infin., and the 1st pl. pres. indic. and impf. of strong verbs after the loss of final *-es*:—*genemen*, 2, 9, etc.; *sehen*, 2, 6, etc.; *ferslîzen*, 102, 5; *nelâzen*, 2, 3; *newizen*, 134, 7; in that of the 3rd pl. pres. indic. of strong verbs:—*diézzent*, 68, 2, etc.; *fallent*, 21, 30; *flîézent*, 23, 2; *séhent*, 65, 7, etc.; *werdent*, 1, 6, etc.; the uninflected forms of the past participle:—*geborgen*, 30, 21, etc.; *funden*, 8, 4, etc.; *kefangen*, 39, 13, etc.; *gelungen*, 36, 7, etc.; *gescriben*, 4, 5, etc.

Note 1.—The *a* of final syllables has however remained in *fogal*, 56, 2; *wehsal*, 54, 20, and the derivative *wehsallîcha*, 9, 11; *wolchan*, 96, 2; 103, (3); *îtal*, 82, (13); *îtâl*, 74, (2), with misplaced circumflex; *werbendîz*, 17, (30); in the borrowed words, *phogat*, 34, 1; and *tiêfal*, 34, 1, etc.; the proper name *phutifar*, 104, 18; and in the first element of the compounds:—*christanheite*, 6 times in glosses, 98, (7), etc.; *cristanheîte*, 30, (11); beside *cristenheit*, 21, (15), etc.; *christenheite*, 25, 12, etc. It remains regularly in the adjectival suffix *-sam*, as in:—*arbêitsam*, 72, 16, etc.; *kehôrsam*, 35, (1); *liêpsam*, 85, 7; *lobesam*, 33, 3, etc.; *minnesam*, 44, 12.

Note 2.—To note is *ôstenast* for *ôstena ist*, 102, 12.

Note 3.—*welêz*, 16, 8; is a scribal error for *welîchez*.

§ 49. O.H.G. *e* remains with few exceptions in the text, less regularly in the glosses, both finally and before consonants. Examples are:—

(a) finally: in dat. sg. *gedrange*, 117, 27; *haze*, 138, 22; *sune*, 7, 1, etc.; *zefektenne*, 28, 1, etc.; *zegegruozzenne*, 136, 4; masc. pl. adjs. *selbe*, 99, 3, etc.; *starche*, 46, 10, etc.; *wâre*, 18, 10, etc. (for fem.); subj. pres.: *chome*, 5, 2, etc.; *ergeze*, 136, 5; *werde*, 5, (6), etc.; *habe*, 6, 3, etc.

Note 1.—*e* has fallen in *fon*, 91, 8.

Note 2.—To be noted are the imperative forms with *a* for final *e*, *i*; *kenada*, 62, (9); *sceîna*, 79, 2·3: common in Bav. but rare in Alem.

(b) followed by a consonant:—*fater*, 2, 6, etc.; *ander*, 5, 11, etc.; *after*, 5, 11, etc.; *erbes*, 5, 2, etc.; *fiûres*, 53, 7, etc.; *scalches*, 34, 27, etc.; *ubeles*, 16, 11, etc.; *hóren*, 49, 7, etc.; *lêren*, 2, 10, etc.; *gehórent*, 140, 6; *uurchent*, 5, 7, etc.; *suóchent*, 4, 3, etc.

§ 50. (a) O.H.G. *i* when final has been weakened to *e*. Examples are:—the uninflected forms of *-j* stems: *erbe*, 2, 8, etc.; *here*, 92, 4; *hewe*, 91, 8; *rîche*, 9, 20, etc.; *stuppe*, 1, 4, etc.; *enge*, 112, 1; *kemeîne*, 103, 10, etc.; *suóze*, 134, 3; *mâre*, 9, D. 6; gen. and dat.

sg. fem. of *-i* decl.: *hende*, 16, 7, etc. (for earlier *handā*); *chrefte*, 48, 8, etc.; *suhte*, 77, 49, etc.; the suffix *-āri*: *haltāre*, 11, 6, etc.; *helfāre*, 18, (15), etc.; *cheīsare*, 57, (7); the 2nd sg. pret. indic., the 1st and 3rd sg. subj. of strong verbs and the imperative of all in *-jan*: *āzze*, 54, 15; *gābe*, 19, (7), etc.; *kehiēzze*, 113, 2', etc.; *hulfe*, 49, 18, etc.; *chāde*, 21, 2, etc.; *wāre*, 5, 11, etc.; *kehōre*, 26, 7, etc.; *lōse*, 6, 5, etc.; *neīge*, 70, 2; *skirme*, 16, 9, etc.

Also in *fure*, 9, 4, etc.; *widere*, 3, 8, etc.; *umbe*, 2, 8, etc.; and in the Latin *altāre*, 25, 6, etc.

Note.—Final *i* has been lost in *wil*, 49, (5); 65, 17; 72, 28.

(*b*) Before one or more consonants, *i* has usually been weakened to *e*, but it remains in certain cases. It has become *e* in the dative plur. of all *-i* nouns, as in *durften*, 9, D. 1; *fuōzzen*, 8, 9, etc.; *sculden*, 24, 2, etc.; *steten*, 77, 51, etc.; *trānen*, 6, 7, etc.; *sibinen*, 118, +; the plural ending *-ir*:—*hārer*, 68, 5; *chalber*, 21, 13, etc.; *lember*, 113, 4; *pleter*, 1, (3); in the suffix *-el* as in *bendel*, 146, 3; *fasel*, 20, 11; *gurtel*, 108, 19; *chezzel*, 107, 10; and in *hou̇bet*, 24, 4, etc.; the gen. and dat. sing. ending of masc. and neuter nouns and adjs. of the weak declension, as in *herzen*, 3, 5, etc.; *galgen*, 21, (8); *wēisen*, 9, D. 14, etc.; *pleichen*, 67, 14; *chreftigen*, 47, 9, etc.; the superlative ending:—*bezzest*, 118, D. 29; *iungest*, 118, +; *lezzest*, 118, +; and 4 times in *ērest* 73, 14, etc. (see below); also in that of the adv. gen. *eīnest*, 17, 22, etc. for *eīnes*; and of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. of the pres. indic. of strong verbs and weak verbs, Class I.:—*neferlāzest*, 9, 11, etc.; *gibest*, 5, 13, etc.; *ferliūsest*, 5, 7; *sihest*, 9, D. 14, etc.; *sizzest*, 9, 5, etc.; *lōsest*, 17, 44, etc.; *irdriūzzet*, 76, 3, etc.; *haltet*, 7, 11, etc.; *sīhet*, 21, 30, etc.; *slāhet*, 7, 17, etc.; *stōzet*, 13, 3, etc.; *sizzet*, 9, D. 8, etc.; *lōset*, 33, 20, etc., and in the past participle of weak verbs, Class I. as in *kefuōget*, 94, 4; *gesweīget*, 3, 8, etc.; *getrūobet*, 2, 5, etc.

(*c*) *i* has remained in the suffixes *-ing*, *-ling*, *-ist*; examples:—*arming*, 33, 7; *friscinch*, 28, (6); *hóling*, 34, 5; *chuninch*, 5, 3, etc.; *zuochomeling*, 145, 9; *tunist*, 88, (13); and in two instances in *-il*:—*prittil*, 31, 9; *nichil*, 118, I. 69; in the personal pronouns:—*iūuich*, 7, 13; *iūuik*, 4, 5, etc.; *unsih*, 4, 7, etc.; and in the superlative ending in the case of *ērist*, 7, 15, except in four instances [see above § 86 *b*].

Note 1.—*i* has been syncopated in *iūh*, 4, 4, etc.

§ 51. O.H.G. *o*, which only occurs finally, remains usually.

Examples are:—nouns in gen. pl. *diêto*, 32, 10, etc.; *goto*, 135, 2, etc.; *rindero*, 65, (15); *chrefto*, 23, 10, etc.; *sculdo*, 75, (11); weak nouns and adjs., nom. sg.: *bluômo*, 102, 15; *namo*, 8, 2, etc.; *willo*, 2, 2, etc.; *selbo*, 10, 5, etc.; *oberôro*, 12, 5, etc.; *unsprechento*, 37, 14; uninflected forms of *-w* stems; *scato*, 56, 2, etc.; *triso*, 38, 7, etc.; advs.: *baldo*, 6, 8, etc.; *fasto*, 8, 4, etc.; *filo*, 6, 8, etc. But final *o* has been lost regularly in the gen. pl. ending *-ôno*, as in: *billon*, 73, (4); *lewôn*, 56, 5, etc.; *sundon*, 5, 4, etc.; *guôton*, 5, 8, etc.; *sundigon*, 1, 1, etc.; *ubelon*, 9, 7, etc.; except in one instance, *wellono*, 64, 8.

Note 1.—To be noted are the forms, *habo*, 3, 4, etc.; for the regular O.H.G. *habên*, corresponding to the O.S. *habbiu*, O.E. *hæbbe* (§ 2, Note 3), on the model of the 1st weak Conj. as in the later language.

Note 2.—The forms with *e* in the fem. pl. pron. ending, such as *sîne*, 10, 5, etc.; *chomene*, 28, 7, etc., are from the masc.

Note 3.—The ending *-era* for the gen. pl. in *clobigera*, 7, (8) is a scribal error.

§ 52. (a) O.H.G. *u* remains when final in the diphthong *iu* of the pronominal ending of the fem. sg. nom. and neut. pl. nom. and acc.

Examples:—*disiû*, 9, D. 14, etc.; *alliû*, *nehéiniû*, 33, 21, etc.; *manigfaltiu*, 57, 9; *wordeniû*, 118, C. 21; *diniû*, 9, 2, etc.; *siniû*, 9, 12, etc.; *ewigiû*, 11, (9), etc.; *gestîgotiû*, 48, 15.

(b) Final *u* has become *o* in this text as in other O.H.G. dialects of this date, in the pronominal endings of the dat. sg. masc. and neut.; the gen. and dat. sg. fem.; examples:—*imo*, 2, 7, etc.; *dînemo*, 3, 5, etc.; *disemo*, 12, 2, etc.; *festemo*, 104, 10; *héiligemo*, 17, 25, etc.; *holdemo*, 105, 42; *kuôtemo*, 93, 20; *festero*, 107, 11; *hóhero*, 97, 5; *niuwero*, 49, (9); *solichero*, 118, G. 54; *sundigero*, 7, (17); *iro*, 3, 8, etc.; *dero*, 1, 1, etc.; in those of the dat. and later analogical gen. sg. of *ô* nouns, as in *âhtungo*, 32, 7, etc.; *beto*, 17, 7, etc.; *hello*, 1, 1, etc.; *bechennedo*, 26, 1; *îlungo*, 27, 4; *redo*, 12, 6, etc.; *gesamenungo*, 149, 1; *sélo*, 3, 3, etc.; *sundo*, 37, (8), etc.; *warto*, 9, 12, etc.; and of the 1st pers. sg. pres. indic. of strong verbs and weak verbs, Class I., as in *gibo*, 2, 8, etc.; *keheldo*, 48, 5; *geheîzzo*, 50, 15, etc.; *îlo*, 25, 6, etc.; *fernimo*, 8, 4, etc.; *singo*, 143, 9.

Note 1.—*u* has been lost altogether in *disem*, 45, (3), a gloss. It appears as *e* in the gloss *urtéilde*, 9, (1) for the dat. sing.

(c) O.H.G. *u* followed by a consonant has been weakened to *e* usually.

Examples:—*abeh*, 71, 4; *aber*, 1, 4, etc.; *âtem*, 134, 17, etc.; *eber*, 79, 14; *iugent*, 42, 4, etc.; *liûment*, 32, 15, etc.; *siben*, 6, 1, etc.; *tiûsent*, 101, (15), etc.; the suffixes *-zeg*, as in *ahzeg*, 89, 10; *fiêrzeg*, 94, 10; *zénzech*, 89, (4); and *-est* as in *ernest*, 57, 2, etc.; *angest*, 45, 7, etc.; the endings of the dat. pl. of the *-a* declension, as in *âhtâren*, 19, 2, etc.; *diêten*, 17, (13); *fiêhen*, 67, (12); *uazzen*, 70, 22; *tagen*, 6, 1, etc.; *wazzeren*, 17, 17; *werchen*, 4, 4, etc.; of the acc. sg. mas., the nom. and acc. pl. masc. and neut. of nouns and adjs. of the weak declension:—*herzen*, 7, 10, etc.; *poten*, 16, 5, etc.; *willen*, 2, 2, etc.; *gediêmuóten*, 50, 10, etc.; *minneren*, 8, 6, etc.; *mennischen*, 10, 5, etc.; *rehteren*, 74, 6; *sundigen*, 3, 6, etc.; *fertânen*, 9, D. 3; *weîcheren*, 103, 17; of the 1st and 3rd pers. plur. of the pret. indic. of strong verbs:—*brâchen*, 73, 6, etc.; *fluzzen*, 45, 5, etc.; *irhuóben*, 82, 3, etc.; *wâren*, 2, 2, etc.; *wurden*, 9, 7, etc.; *zugen*, 26, 10, etc.; and of the pret. present verb, *wizzen*, 9, 11, etc.

Note 1.—Though followed by a cons. *u* has remained in the dat. pl. ending *-un* in the isolated adv. forms, *ardingun*, 2, 1; 9, 2; *chrumbelingun*, 66, 5; *stuzzelingun*, 9, 2; sporadically also in *furdur*, 9, D. 11; *mittunt*, 54, 20; 118, D. 25; and the pret. pl. indic. *inphundun*, 80, 8; *getrunchun*, 20, 4; *ferswundun*, 52, (5); and in the glosses, *irchorinun*, 67, (31) and *mennischun*, 72, (11); *puwunt*, 42, (3) has *u* for *a*.

§ 53. In a few instances, in final as in medial syllables, *i* appears even in the text for *e* of whatever origin. These instances are:—

(a) for *e* from *a*: *manigh*, 138, 18; *finstir*, 17, 12; the adj. endings in *gântin*, 77, 71; *irliûtertiz*, 11, 7; *selbiz*, 39, 13; the infinitives *ferlucchin*, 57, 5; *irsterbin*, 24, 2; the 3rd pl. *werdint*, 95, 1; the past. parts., *missefarin*, 50, 8; *uberfarin*, 41, 8; *gehaltin*, 82, 11; and *samint*, 101, 9; 105, 38; *unzint*, 80, 8.

(b) for *e* from original *e*, in the termination of the gen. sg. in *dhtaris*, 43, 17; *dhtâris*, 136, 7; *brôtis*, 36, 25; 104, 16; *dingis*, 96, 12; *erbis*, 141, 6; *fleîskis*, 17, 5; *folchis*, 44, 13; *géistis*, 1, 3; *haltaris*, 50, 14; *heimuodis*, 136, 1; *mezis*, 10, 7; *pîsezzis*, 103, 24; *silberis*, 118, I. 72; *toneris*, 103, 7; *truhtenis*, 121, 4; *werennis*, 144, 11; *wortis*, 43, 23; 44, 2; *wurmis*, 57, 5; *armis*, 101, 1; *dînis*, 103, 24; *sundigis*, *unchustigis*, 108, 2; *widersprechentis*, 43, 17; *tuóntis*, 43, 17; *intwerentis*, 70, 4; *bewerfentis*, 57, 5; in the infin. of weak verbs, Class I.:—in *hogezzin*, 76, 13; *leîdezin*, 138, 3; *sprungezinne*, 104, 43; *zestîginne*, 125, 1.

(c) for *e* from original *i*, in *nichil*, 118, I. 69; the neut. pl. ending in *rindir*, 65, 15; that of the gen. and dat. sg. masc. and neut. of the weak declension, as in *eristin*, *fillintin*, *funftin*, *funfzéndin*, *iungistin*, all in 118, +; of the 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. indic. in *fichtist*, 34, 3; *gibist*, 144, 15; *wirdist*, 8, 4; *gebirgit*, 32, 7; *gibit*, 135, 25; *héizzit*, 94, 4; *cluóit*, 118, S. 140; *scillit*, 146, 1; *sprichit*, 131, 16; of the past part. in *gelegit*, 34, 25; *bezéichenit*, 135, 20; and of the dat. pl. of the *i* decl. in one instance, *schuldin*, 18, 14.

(d) for *e* from *u*, in the ending of the neut. pl. of the weak adj. *chumftigin*, 36, 37; and of the dat. pl. -um in *diétin*, 125, 3; 149, 7; *unrehtin*, 129, 8; *séwazzerin*, 113, 8; and in *sibinzig*, 89, 10.

This tendency to substitute *i* for *e* in unaccented syllables, final as well as medial (§ 40), which appears comparatively rarely in the text itself, is shown far more in the glosses in both positions, the glosses exhibiting Up. Germ. characteristics in general more strongly than the text. [§§ 39, Note 1; 118.]

Examples are: *merefogil*, 103, (17); *wehsil*, 76, (17); *zeîchin*, 96, (4), etc.; *éwigin*, 74, (1); *eîniz*, 70, (19); *farin*, 46, (6), etc.; *fazzin*, 103, (14); *werchin*, 100, (8), etc.; *selbin*, 98, (1); *birin*, 31, (7).

Note 1.—This substitution of *i* for unaccented *e* is quite irregular in its occurrence, in both text and glosses. Instances even occur with *i* in the medial syllable, but *e* remaining finally, as in *sprechinten*, 67, (13); *wortinen*, 31, (6); *hêidinen*, 34, (19); or with *e* medially, *i* finally, as in *iungerin*, 20, (4); *kehaltenin*, 17, (20); *wizzegin*, 16, (4); though more frequently *e* has become *i* in both positions in the same word, as in:—*engilin*, 106, (1); *fogilin*, 103, (17); *trahinin*, 95, (8); *himiliskis*, 62, (6); *nichilin*, 98, (9); *iungistin*, 91, (11); *lêidizzin*, 91 (12); *wizzinnis*, 98, (1); and with an intrusive *i*, *eribin*, 104, (6).

Note 2.—*i* for final *e* occurs only in *fugeli*, 10, 2.

§ 54. Syncope of a final short vowel has taken place in the following instances, after a liquid, before the inflectional ending:—in the gen. sg. *silbers*, 38, (8); *anders*, 118, C. 19; the dat. pl. *hiúsern*; 49, 10; *losern*, 45, (5); the verbs *birn*, 17, 29; 19, 9; 43, 22; *pirn*, 122, 4; *pirnt*, 2, 11; *kebern*, 44, (2); *sult*, 4, 4; *suln*, 41 times, 11, 5, etc.; *sulnt*, 4 times, 15, 2, etc.; *nesuln*, 8 times, 52, 5, etc.; *born*, 44, (11); *geborn*, 7 times, 2, 7, etc.; *keborn*, 17, 6; 84, 12; 98, (9); *ferlorn*, 5 times, 84, 6; *inpharn*, 21, 28; *ferzorn*, 79, 16.

§ 55. Final vowels in the first element of compound words remain unsyncopeated, but are usually weakened to *e*.

Examples:—*betestimmo*, 5, 3; *egebâre*, 46, 3; *erdeguót*, 72, (23); *erdering*, 23, 1, etc.; *erbelós*, 5, 11; *helfelos*, 71, 12, etc.; *hellegruóba*, 87, 5; *hereberga*, 26, 3, etc.; *lobesam*, 33, 3, etc.; *lugehéit*, 27, 4, etc.; *unsagelih*, 72, 24; *sigelós*, 82, 10; *wunnesami*, 118, B. 14; *tagelicha*, 98, 8; *alegaro*, 7, 13, etc.; *allelíchi*, 95, (13); *samelichiú*, 83, (4); *fileliében*, 88, 18; *follegât*, 22, 6; *folletuónt*, 10, 7; *fóregán*, 34, 4, etc.; *forestán*, 5, 5; *missefiéng*, 37, 8; *missetat*, 50, 5, etc.; *umbefaren*, 26, 6; *uberewerden*, 68, 6, etc.; *widereléittest*, 24, 5.

The final vowel does not undergo weakening in the adverbs, *aba*, *ana*, *dana*, *dara*, *hara*, *hina*, either before a following consonant or vowel.

Examples:—*abaist*, 19, 7; *abanimet*, 33, 20; *anaharo*, 114, 2, etc.; *anasicht*, 5, (8); *danagenomen*, 57, 9; *tanacherent*, 118, C. 21; *dara-denche*, 38, 5; *daralangee*, 86, *Int.*; *daraafter*, 7, 5; *darain*, 30, 14, etc.; *daraûf*, 47, 2; *haracham*, 27, 4, etc.; *haranider*, 17, 10, etc.; *harazûo*, 106, 43; *haraûf*, 10, 2.

Note.—Exceptions are *anefange*, 20, 4; *harechêre*, 6, 5.

Forms with *dar* occur both before vowels and consonants.

Examples:—*darana*, 8, 4, etc.; *dârin*, 14, 2, etc.; *taraba*, 2, 9; *darfore*, 9, D. 15, etc.

Other instances without weakening are:—*hellagruoba*, 142, 7; *lobosang*, 39, 4; *matoscregh*, 104, 34; *matoscrecches*, 108, 23; *salmo-sangon*, 4 times, 7, 18, etc.; *salmosangont*, 9, 12; *suónotach*, 13, (4); 75, (8); *suónotak*, 74, (3); 96, (3); *tagolíches*, 24, 11; 41, 4; *unzalahaftiú*, 39, 13; 65, 3; *unzalahaftiu*, 62, (2); *wolatâte*, 13, 1; 67, (10).

Note 1.—Syncope has taken place in:—*armhêite*, 30, 11; *armheite*, 106, 41; *erdpurch*, 107, (11); *erdring*, 97, (9); *erdrîche*, 72, (1); *erdriche*, 98, (9); *manlíchemo*, 129, 3; *missopher*, 83, (4).

Note 2.—*hintert* (adv.), 118, Q. 122; *echert*, 7, 6, etc.; *ecchert*, 9, D. 14, etc.; and *nals* 2, 2, etc.; regularly show syncope of the vowel in the final syllable, become final in *ecchert* (for *eckerodo*) only after the loss of *o*.

Note 3.—[For the contracted forms:—*wat*, 34, 5; *keschiêt*, 20, 12; see under *h* § 199.]

Note 4.—An intrusive *e* appears in *zeweï*, 87, 3; 118, U. 160; *zeweio*, 85, 6.

Note 5.—Both forms with and without syncope occur in:—

goteheit, 8 times, 21, (18), etc.; *gotehêite*, 6 times, 79, (4), etc.; beside *Gothêit*, 27, 1; *gotheîte*, 3, 5; *gothêite*, 20, 4; *Gotheiti*, 29, (9); *manneslekkken*, 5, 7; 71, 14; beside *manslekkken*, 25, (10); 54, 24; 138, 20; *manslekkon*, 25, 9; 58, 3; *wînegarto*, 79, 10; 127, 3; *wînegarten*, 6 times, 77, 47, etc.; beside *wîngarto*, 79, (1); *wîngarten*, 79, (10); *wîngartin*, 80, (16).

Note 6.—To be noted is *chornewiste*, 80, 17; with an irrational *e*, beside *chornwiste*, 80, (17), possibly for *chorenwiste* [see § 39, *Note 1*].

Chap. IV.—Semi-vowels, Liquids and Nasals.

W

§ 56. The treatment of O.H.G. *w* in our text calls for little remark.

(a) Initially it is frequently written *u* before *u*, as in:—*uundere*, 16, 7; *uunderlich*, 15, 3; *uunnesamo*, 8, (8); *uunsch*, 16, 14; *uurde*, 22, 5; *uurfe*, 8, 8; *uuóft*, 6, 9; and once before *a* in the combination *sw* in *suaz*, 58, 18; 74, 7.

(b) Medially the writing *u* also occurs as in:—*scatue*, 22, 4, etc.; *uuituon*, 67, 6; *zesuun*, 8 (2), etc.; but *uu* is the usual form.

Note.—A glide *w* has been developed in *truwen*, 85, 1; *buwen*, 26, 4; *puwunt*, 42, (3); beside the usual *truon*, 72, 11; *puen*, 51, 7; *püent*, 49, 4, etc.

ahtowen, with inorganic *w*, occurs once in 118, +.

Note 2.—In *kehiginis*, 7, (10); medial *w* has been replaced by *j* (*g*). [See Braune's O.H.G. Gram. § 110, Anm. 3].

Note 3.—Medial *w* has been lost in *gehîton*, 105, 36; (*to *hîwjan*), and *horgeie*, 7, (10), (*to *horwigjan*); in *hiêscas*, 48, 18; *hiiske*, 113, 9', and in *êa*, 18, 8, etc.; *êo*, 1, 2, etc.; in which the forms without *w* are very frequent.

j

§ 57. O.H.G. *j* is usually written *i* in all positions in this text, but the writing *g* occurs in the following instances in the glosses:—*begiêhin*, 103, (1); *pigiêhin*, 74, (2); *bigiht*, 84, (14); 103, (34); *bîgihite*, 74, (2); *bigihite*, 75, (2); *pigihit*, 75, (11); 84, (12); 103, (1); *pigihite*, 4 times, 66, (5), etc.; *pîgihite*, 67, (28); 74, (2); *pigihitaro*, 59, (2); *siûftogen*, 31, (7); *tugen*, 63, (10).

§ 58. A striking characteristic of this text, as in the other works of Notker (see Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 116, Note 4), is the loss of initial *j* in all the forms of the pronoun *jener*, as in:—*ener*, 76, 16, etc.; *eniu*, 18, 10, etc.; *enez*, 4, 5, etc.; *ene*, 46, 1, etc.; and in *âmere*, 73, 4; 94, 11; and its derivatives *âmerondo*, 68, (21); *âmerlichi*, 68, (21).

Note 1.—*êne*, 1, 5; is a scribal error for *éne*.

Note 2.—Traces of medial *j* remain in the subjunctive forms with *eie*:—*beteien*, 70, (7); *nebildeiest*, 36, 1; *fureuangeien*, 94, 2; *fasteien*, 70, (7); *iruolleie*, 19, 7; *fordereien*, 77, 7; *nefolhabeien*, 93, Int.; *hafteie*, 30, 17; *hafteien*, 101, 6; *irharteie*, 89, 6; *gehêiligeien*, 106, 22; *horgeie*, 7, (10); *iageie*, 7, 6; *pezzereiest*, 25

2; *neriûweient*, 103, (7); *scameien*, 34, 4; *tîligeie*, 33, 17; *tîligeien*, 32, (10); *tîlegeien*, 73, 8; *newereiest*, *pezzeroiest*, 87, 15; *betoien*, 96, 7; *petoien*, 96, 7; *tuôien*, 6 times, 9, 18, etc.; *netuôient*, 4, 5; 17, (16); *nemissetuôie*, 50, 12; *undertuôie*, 109, 1; *keêiscoien*, 82, 19, etc.; or, written with *g* in the glosses, in *tuôgen*, 63, (10); *siûftogen*, 31, (7), and in one instance in the declension, in *chunio*, 104, (15).

l

§ 59. O.H.G. *l* shows few irregularities. A few analogical formations occur; these are:—*ferselo*, 43, (22); *neselêst*, 26, 12; *nebelent*, 16, 11; *fercholen*, 118, L. 81·82, without gemination, on the analogy of the 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. indic. and the past part. *gestellet*, 26, 3; and impf. *stelle*, 140, 3, with *ll* from forms in which gemination appeared regularly.

Note 1.—One instance only occurs of the retention of gemination after a long vowel or diphthong in this late Alem. text, in *irtêille*, 7, 9.

§ 60. Latin *l* has been dissimilated to *n* in *trebenont*, 26, 12; from *tribulare*, a form peculiar to Notker (Schade, O.G. Dict.).

r

§ 61. O.H.G. *r* is perfectly regular. Latin *r* has been differentiated to *l* regularly in *chilcha*, 74, (8); *chilehun*, 101, (8); 102, (22); *chilichon*, 106, (24); *chilichun*, 28, (8); *chilechun*, 143, 12; and *liûtchilchun*, 34, (18) for *kirihha*, etc.

Note 1.—*r* in *neferliêrest*, 27, 3; is from the pret. pl.

Note 2.—Final *r* has fallen in *dâfore*, 105, 30; *damite*, 36, 20; *hiê*, 4, 10; and *sâ*, 16, 14; beside the regular forms, *dârmite*, 17, 39, etc.; *hiêr*, 9, 8, etc.; *sâr*, 6, 11, etc.: in which *r* is retained.

§ 62. In consequence of the syncope of the medial vowel in this text, [see § 38] *rr* has arisen in *érre*, 78, (*Int.*); 101, (24); *érro*, 88, (42); *érro*, 70, (7); *érreron*, 106, 22; *hârrun*, 29, 12, etc.; *hérro*, 8, 2, etc.; *hérren*, 47, 9, etc.; *hérron*, 105, 42, etc.; *hérrin*, 44, (1); and its derivative, *hérresôt*, 65, 7; *hérresot*, 71, 8; in *pharre*, 21, 13, etc.; *phârren*, 67, 31; *dirro*, 8, 3, etc.

§ 63. A few instances occur of the gemination of *r* before *j* after a short vowel as in Franc. and Alem., or after the long vowel as in Alem. only [Grundriss d. Germ. Phil. V. Absch. VIII. § 74]. These are:—*geburre*, 68, 29; *folgerra*, 9, (4); *niderren*, 41, 7; *irwerren*, 17, 18; *timberriû*, 17, 13; *folgedârre*, 138, 20; *lerarra*, 50, (10); *uberlosarra*, 103, (4); *hórren*, 122, 1; *gehórren*, 30, 2; 142, 8; *kehorren*,

142, 8; *gehórrent*, 2, 10; *márren*, 20, 14; *ziérrent*, 28, 11; *wárro*, 59, 2; beside the more usual forms with single *r*, *haltáre*, 11, 6, etc.; *helfáre*, 18, (15), etc.; *hóren*, 49, 7, etc.; *gehóren*, 13, 3, etc.; *zeir-márinne*, 88, (14).

Note 1.—*Salzmuórre* with *rr*, 106, 34; is peculiar to this author (Schade. O.G. Dict.).

m

§ 64. O.H.G. *m* has become *n*.

(a) medially before *f* in:—*funfen*, 118, +; *funftin*, 118, +; *chunft*, 82, (1); 97, (3); *chunfte*, 7 times, 4, (3), etc.; *chunfto*, 194, (22); *afterchunft*, 104 (9); *chunftîg*, 38, 5; *chunftig*, 83, (12); 86, (4); *chunftigis*, 104, 27; *chunftiga*, 5, (8); 30, (20); *chunftigin*, 77, (68); *chunftigen*, 78, (1); *chunftigon*, 89, (12); *sigenunft*, 64, (12); *sigenunftare*, 111, (5); *unsenfte*, 30, (9); but these forms are the exception and in the case of *chunft*, etc., occur only in the glosses.

Note.—*chunt*, 36, (6) for *chumet* is a scribal error.

(b) before *n* in *nennit*, 77, (31); with assimilation for **namnit*.

(c) finally in the dative plural ending of nouns and adjectives, and in the 1st pers. pl. of verbs, as in:—*herzon*, 4, 5, etc.; *rossen*, *rinderen*, 48, 21; *séwen*, 101, 7; *flecchon*, 44, 11; *unrdáwon*, 3, 6; *anderen*, 9, 9, etc.; *holdon*, 21, 23; *erdinen*, 15, (3); *lebenden*, 144, 11; *bin*, 73, 2, etc.; *chómen*, 86, 2, etc.; *cheden*, 25, 2; *werden*, 105, 47; *scadeton*, 118, V. 161; and in *bin*, 1st pers. sg., 15, 7, etc.

Note.—*soûffentem* 29, 4; with *m* still retained, is merely a scribal error.

(d) finally in the first element of the compound before *-s* in:—*franspuôte*, 37, 20; *harnscaron*, 17, 39.

Note 1.—*rîhtuômme*, 68, 30; *wîstuômme*, 48, 1; with *mm* for *m* are scribal errors, as also *lîchhaften*, 36, (36); for *lîchamhaften*.

Note 2.—*mm* from final *m* before a following *m* has been simplified in *comen*, 104, 17; *comenes*, 146, 10.

Note 3.—*crement*, 65, 7; 67, 7; *nefrumo*, 34, 13; *nefrument*, 75, 6; with single *m*, are due to the analogy of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing.

n

§ 65. O.H.G. *n* has undergone assimilation to a preceding *m* in *nemmet*, 146, 4; *nenemme*, 118, Z.; *genemmet*, 98, 6; 105, 15; *bewemmet*, 105, 39; *stimma*, 17, 7, etc.; *stimmo*, 3, 5, etc.; *eînstimme*, 40, 7, etc.

§ 66. Loss of the *n* in the unaccented syllable occurs once in *chuniges*, 17, 51; as in modern German; more frequently in *tuged*, 47, 14; *tugede*, 9 times, 17, 33, etc.; *tugedo*, 8 times, 45, 8, etc.; *tugedin*, 44, (15); beside forms, however, with *n* as in *tugend*, 62, 3; and in *hitemon*, 105, 12, (Goth. *hinduma*), in the accented syllable, as always in O.H.G.

Note 1.—In the adverbs, *dannan*, 24, 2, etc.; *wannan*, 4, 8, etc.; the forms with *nn* alone occur in this text. In the noun *sternen*, 8, 4, etc.; the form with *rn* only occurs.

Note 2.—The *n* of the characteristic ending of the 2nd pers. pl. of the verb as in *sulnt*, 15, 2; *pirnt*, 2, 11, etc.; belongs to the Grammar. [See Kelle, Zeitsch. f. d. A. Vol. 30, p. 297.]

Note 3.—To note are the following forms with *nn* for *n*:—*annilichemo*, 77, (54); *zannan*, 34, 16; and with *n* for *nn*:—*menischin*, 94, 4; a scribal error.

Note 4.—Scribal errors also are *ebemaht*, 108, (20) for *ebenmaht*; *miu*, 45, (10) for *mîn*.

Chap. V. Labials.

b

§ 67. O.H.G. *b* (W. Germ. *ḃ* or *b* appears in our text as *b* and *p*).

§ 68. (a) O.H.G. *b* appears as *p*, initially in the sentence or phrase, and also in the word, or second element of a compound, when preceded by a final consonant (explosive or spirant).

(b) It appears as *b* initially in the word, or second element of a compound when preceded by a final sonant.

Examples:—*mîniu bant*, 115, 17; *die bilde*, 22, 4; but *das pilde*, 46, 5; *opfer bluôte*, 50, 9; but *unsundig pluôt*, 93, 21; *der bóum*, 1, 3; but *pirig póum*, 1, 3; *óleboûme*, 51, 10; but *waltpóuma*, 95, 12; also *brót*, 101, 10; but *daz prót*, 101, 10; *dîn brûtegomo*, 44, 12; but *daz chît prûtelob*, 44, 18; *Gotes purg*, 45, 5; but *dié burge*, 9, 7; *iéo baz*, 118, Q. 125; but *wissa er iz paz*, N. 99; *filo bréit*, 118, M. 96; but *ist préit*, D. 32; *egebâre*, 46, 3; but *undanchpâre*, 25, (3); *man baldo cheden mag*, 80, 17; but *ih paldo mahta*, 37, 7; *sie beide*, 1, 5; but *Trukten besuôchet peîde*, 10, 6; *anderér bedarf*, 32, 15; but *ih pedarf*, 34, 9; *er barg*, 9, D. 14; *ferbarg*, 26, 5; but *ih parg*, 34, 13; *ze helfo bat*, 24, 20; but *Christus pat*, 2, 8; *zebechennenne*, 15, 7; but

anawist pechennet, 9, 11; *inbran*, 38, 4; but *Prenne mîme lancha*, 25, 2; *Unde brâhta*, 17, 20; but *gesmag prâhton*, 68, 23; *sie bringen*, 20, 12; but *sie iûh pringen*, 95, 8; *Pringent imo*, 95, 8.

§ 69. This rule is not so strictly followed in the glosses, as in the text. In the latter the total number of exceptions is 35.

(a) *p* occurs after sonants 24 times, in:—*pe*, 8 times; as in *suózze pe*, 36, 30, etc.; *liden pehalbot*, 39, 13; *heretici péitent*, 8, 3; *werden pechêret*, 55, 10; *châden pesizzen*, 82, 13; *templum pildon*, 118, Z.; *sih zerrechenne pilget*, 7, 12; *an . . . duldetage plâsent*, 80, 4; *oûgen plindeen*, 68, 24; *vetustatem pranda*, 59, 2; *ecclesia prêitet*, 23, 1; *insule pringent*, 71, 10; *in humanitate prûteliĥ*, 110, 9; *in . . . lande prutelichiu*, 105, 22; *cum sponso prûten*, 118, +; *sié pruoderlich*, 118, +; and in *irpalg*, 17, 8.

(b) *b* occurs 11 times after consonants, in:—*habent bald*, 30, 25; *daz begagenet*, 72, 18; *iz bechennen*, 31, 1; *sîn selbes bechennedo*, 26, 1; *uns benéimda*, 24, 10; *sih besuóndon*, 78, 1; *wirt bewendet*, 111, 3; *idumeus bezeîchenet*, 51, 2; *legis bezéichenent*, 32, 2; *gentes bezeichenda*, 80, 6; *ih bin*, 39, 18.

In the glosses, however, *p* occurs after consonants 122 times, after sonants 109 (that is, almost as frequently); *b* after sonants 107 times, but only twice after consonants; in *wirs bruódera*, 58 (14); and *genesent blinden*, 56 (9).

§ 70. Medially O.H.G. *b* remains before vowels and consonants as a rule, as in:—*âbent*, 64, 9; *haben*, 3, 8, etc.; *fergeben*, 31, 2, etc.; *leben*, 55, (2), etc.; *lember*, 113, 4; *chalber*, 21, 13, etc.; *selba*, 4, 9, etc.; *léibton*, 16, 14; *nelîbta*, 77, 50; *keloûbta*, 70, 17, etc.; *irstarbta*, 135, 15; *uóbton*, 77, 58; but in the following instances it has been assimilated to *p* before the following *t*:—*ûzfrumpta*, 67, 9; *gechrumpta*, 50, 12; *geloûpton*, 121, 4; *irstarpta*, 68, 3; *zestoûpta*, 34, 16.

Note 1.—In *ûzfrumpta* an excrescent *b* after the *m*, has been shifted to *p* before the *t*.

Note 2.—*b* also remains before *s* in the foreign word *libs*, 77, 26.

Note 3.—In one instance *b* has become *p* between vowels:—*scâpâre*, 71, 6.

Note 4.—To be noted for this text are the forms *eîuer*, 3 times, 63 (5), etc.; *êiuera*, 63, 4; *êiuero*, 104, 28; *eîfirin*, 104, (3), with *u* or *f* for the usual Bav. *p* in *aipar*. [For the past part. with *u* for *b* in *erhauen*, 8, 2, etc., see under *f*. § 80, Note 4.]

Note 5.—*b* has been lost after *m* in *samiztag*, 88, (40); *samiztage*, 92, (Int.); the form which occurs in the glosses, whereas the text has only *sambaztages*, 91, 1; with *b*.

§ 71. H.G. *bb* (W. Germ. *bb*) has been shifted to *pp*, but instances are not frequent in our text. They are:—*piteppest*, 79 (6); *ûztrippen*, 108, (11); *nâhsippa*, 47, (10); *stuppe*, 1, 4, etc.; *stuppes*, 101, 15; *uppe*, 2, (4); *uppun*, 88, 48, etc.; and compounds with *uppe*:—*uppecheît*, 88, 48; *uppeheît*, 53, (7), etc.; *keuppot*, 63, (9); *uppig*, 5, 10, etc.; *uppigi*, 61, (10); and compounds with *uppig*:—*uppighêite*, 143, 4, etc.; and *wuppen*, 89, 9.

Note 1.—*bb* occurs once in the Latin word *sabbato*, 91, 1.

§ 72. Finally H.G. *b* remains in the texts itself before following sonants or consonants. Examples are:—*negib in*, 34, 25; *warb in*, 25, 1; *chalb was*, 26, 8; *toûb wâre*, 37, 14; *Tumb mennisco*, 113, 7; *loûb nerîset*, 1, 3, before sonants; *chorb den*, 80, 7; *wîb kenomeniû*, 77, 63; *scrib sia*, 118, E. 33; *gruôb sîa*, 7, 16; *netrêib fone*, 17, 23, before consonants.

In the glosses, *b* is the most usual form, but *p* occurs occasionally. Before sonants *b* is always found, except in one instance, as in *ininhalt muôtis*, 31 (7); *lîb êwigen*, 33 (9); (*lob*) *ioh (sanch)*, 94, (Int.); (*stab*) *moyse*, 73, (11); *gib mir*, 77, (72); *fergib inen*, 101, (8); but *lamp under wolfa*, 79, (7). Before an initial consonant *b* appears 17 times; *p* 8 times; while finally in its phrase or sentence *b* occurs 13 times, 3 being final in the chapter; *p* only once.

Examples:—*halb sînis*, 71 (5); but *anderhalp ze*, 79, (10); *lîb zelazzenne*, 87, (6); (*lob*) *sint*, 54, (1); (*kuotwerchlîb*) *bezêichenit*, 32, (2); *gib kuollichî*, 95, (8); *gab daz*, 71, (2); but (*chorp*) *truôge*, 80, (8); (*crap*) *Christi*, 58, (1); (*chrump*) *chît*, 31, (9).

Finally:—*halb*, 108, (31); *winstirhalb*, 105, (36); *lîb*, 44, (3); *lob*, 103, (33); but *halp* 108, (27).

Note 1.—*p* has been further shifted to *ph* after a consonant in two instances, both glosses; *chalph*, 68, (33); and *sitechrumph*, 73, (11).

Note 2.—*b* final in its syllable remains also in compounds before a following consonant or sonant, as in *selbfolgon*, 67, (31); *lîbhaftiû*, 80, (1); *lîbpuoche*, 28, (11); *lobsanc*, 90, (Int.); *liêbsam*, 76, (8); *glôûbtriuwo*, 92, (1); *abGotpilden*, 77, 58; *abkotdiênist*, 77, (58); *abkot*, 96, (3); *abcrunde*, 35, 7, before consonants; or *geloûblich*, 92, 5; *truôbmuôtig*, 76, (6); *selbnamo*, -*namin*, 77, (43); *libregela*, 21, 19; *selbwala*, 26, (9); *ablaz*, 73, 19, before sonants; the treatment in text and

glosses being the same, but instances in the text extremely rare. Two exceptions occur, one in the text, *liépsam*, 85, 7; the other a gloss, *tumplich*, 68, (6); with *p* before a sonant.

p

§ 73. (a) Latin *p* in the combination *ps* from Grk. ψ has been lost initially in *salmo*, 9, 1, etc.; and its derivatives, as in *salmosangon*, 9, 3, etc.; in *saltâre*, 80, (3), etc.; and its derivative *saltersanch*, 80, (3).

(b) It remains initially and medially in *gepurperoto*, 72, (10); in *brediare* and derivatives from the same root, forms with *b* occur usually after a sonant, as in *ketriuwe brediare*, 100, (6); *himilsce brediga*, 80, (3); *gebredigot*, 67, 9; *den (brediont)*, 80, (4); but *scullen (predigondo)*, 45, (4); *iro prediâre*, 47, (14); forms with *p* after a consonant, as in *kebotis predio*, 80, (3); *ih prediga*, 88, (51).

(c) Celtic *p* remains in *alpon*, 103, 18.

f

§ 74. O.H.G. *f* is written *f* and *u*. Initially the symbol *u* occurs before *a*, *e*, *o*, and less frequently before *i* and *e*.

(a) Examples of *f*:—*falgo*, 82, (8); *fallen*, 82, 14, etc.; *falta*, 95, 5; *fâra*, 63, 4; *fater*, 2, 6, etc.; *fehthen*, 45, 11, etc.; *ferro*, 2, 6, etc.; *fêhes*, 105, 20; *festi*, 18, 2, etc.; *ficise*, 34, (19); *filo*, 6, 8, etc.; *fillâ*, 22, 4; *findo*, 117, 19; *zefliêhenne*, 100, 5; *florenne*, 15, 5; *fol*, 13, 3, etc.; *forhta*, 13, 3, etc.; *folg*, 84, 7, etc.; *fone*, 1, 4, etc.; *foresaga*, 17, (17), etc.; *funf*, 101, (15); *fureskiézzent*, 97, 6; *fugeli*, 10, 2; *fullo*, 80, 11; *frâzzen*, 78, 7; *friûnt*, 7, 1, etc.; *frosg*, 77, 45; *freîsa*, 7, 1, etc.

(b) The instances with *u* are:—*ualgo*, 9, 10; *beualh*, 77, 5; 104, 27; *ual*, 9, D. 2; *uallo*, 7, 5; *uallet*, 36, 24; *uallent*, 17, 39; 21, 30; 102, 12; *ualle*, 90, 6; *iruallet*, 93, 13; *iruallen*, 26, 2; *irualta*, 54, 10; 88, 17; *irualtost*, 17, 40; *neeruallet*, 25, 1; *keuallit*, 25, (1); *irualti*, 105, 27; *zênualt*, 90, 7; *fureuangot*, 87, 14; *uârigo*, 16, 12; *uâron*, 9, D. 8; *uâret*, 9, D. 9; *uârentero*, 42, 3; *uaren*, 104, 39; *uarenten*, 36, 7; *feruare*, 89, 6; 91, 9; *feruaren*, 89, 4; *iruare*, 20, 9; *uastun*, 34, 13; 68, 11; *uaz*, 30, 13; *uazzen*, 70, 22; *neuêhet*, 74, 5; *neuehet*, 138, 12; *uêhes*, 104, 36; *uehten*, 59, 12; *anauehtun*, 30, (8);

uel, 36, (12), (for *fil*); *uel*, 118, V. (164); *uellet*, 91, 16; *eruellet*, 7, 5; *eruelle*, 9, 20; 54, 10; *iruellet*, 36, 20; 56, 7; 90, 7; *neiruelle*, 60, 3; *iruelleda*, 72, 18; *geuelligemo*, 144, 15; *uerfâhet*, 6, 6; *neuerchunnent*, 105, 1; *uerlornisse*, 10, (7); *uermuleta*, 104, 33; *uernumiste*, 31, (8); *unuernumistîg*, 44, 1; *uerro*, 4 times, 4, (5), etc.; *uersihtigen*, 9, D. 10; *uerte*, 15, 8; 104, 37-38; *inuerte*, 91, 14; *uesti*, 70, 3; *uettacha*, 17, 11; *uettacho*, 62, 8; *uilla*, 90, 10; *uilo*, 6, 10; *uirschunst*, 24, 14; *uirsêhen*, 19, 8; *uizese*, 54, 24; *uogila*, 101, (28); *uolg*, 94, 4; *uolget* 17, (44); 95, 6; *iruolleie*, 19, 7; *uone*, 104, 40; *uorhta*, 104, 38; *uorhtun*, 69, 3; *uorhton*, 104, 38; *uram*, 106, 38; *urâz*, 104, 35; *urewi*, 104, 43; *urêisun*, 114, 3; *urosca*, 104, 30; *urumegifte*, 104, 36; *uolunga*, 2, (3).

Note 1.—*uילו*, 45, 5 is for *uilo*.

Note 2.—These instances occur with very few exceptions after final sonants, but the forms with *f* also occur frequently, as in *iro filo*, 24, 11; *imo frô*, 2, 11; *wolchen fuôren*, 17, 13; *unde fone*, 17, 16; *starchen fienden*, 17, 18; *teta fore*, 35, 3; *in furhten*, 66, 8; *harto fersâhen*, 68, 29; *iro frewi*, 105, 5; *willen folgent*, 105, 9. The only exception in the text itself is *des vêhes*, 104, 36; in the glosses, *u* occurs twice after consonants in the preceding word of the text, in *libes (uel)*, 36, (12); and *chit (uel)*, 118, V. (164); and once even after a consonant in the same gloss, in *christis volunga*, 2 (3).

§ 75. In words compounded with the prefix *ant-*, *int-*, initial *f* has been assimilated in some instances with the *t*, to form the affricata *pf* or *ph*, which has again later been simplified to the spirant *f*, both forms occurring in this text. The instances are:—*inphallet*, 109, 3; *anphange*, 103, 3; *anphanchlich*, 65, (15); beside *antfang*, 21, 1; 107, 9; *inphâhest*, 29, 9; 58, 17; *inphahêst*, 36, 34; *inphâhet*, 10 times, 33, 9, etc.; *inphâhen*, 8 times, 21, 16, etc.; *inphâhent*, 4 times, 49, 5, etc.; *inphahent*, 36, 29; 50, (10); *inphah*, 118, P. 116; Q. 122; *inphâe*, 108, 8; *inphâhendo*, 32, 6; 47, 4; *inphahendo*, 32, 6; 118, X. 170; *zeinphâhenne*, 53, 4; *inphiênch*, 43, (25); *inphiêng*, 5 times, 50, 7, etc.; *inphieng*, 103, (3); *inphiêngen*, 9 times, 39, 12, etc.; *inphiênge*, 6 times, 40, 13, etc.; *inphiengin*, 96, (8); *neinphiênge*, 43, 13; *inphangen*, 11 times, 29, 2, etc.; *inphangenon*, 43, 13; *inphangere*, 6 times, 53, 6, etc.; *inphangêre*, 58, 10; *inphangâre*, 143, 2; beside *infâhet*, 18, 12; 23, 5; *infâhe*, 16, 1; *infâhent*, 10, 7; *infiêng*, 4 times, 3, 6, etc.; *infiêngen*, 16, 12; *infiênge*, 3, 4; *neinfiêng*, 14, 5; *infangen*, 6, 10; 7, 15; *infangare*, 3, 4; *inpharn*, 21, 28; *inpharen*, 123, 7; beside *zeinfarenne*, 118, P. 114; *inphindet*, 118, K. 73; *inphindent*, 30,

10; 109, 5; *inphāNT*, 105, 9; *inphant*, 118, I. 67, S. 140; *inphunden*, 106, 9; *inphundun*, 80, 8; *inphintliches*, 90, (10); beside *infindida*, 33, (20); *inphroret*, 147, 18, without any corresponding form with *f*; but on the other hand, *infallen*, 6, 3; *neinfliehest*, 74, 7; with *f* only.

Note 1.—*antfang*, 21, 1; *antfrista*, 59, (2); 103, (17); *antfristo*, 97, (3); *antfristin*, 105, (39); *antfristoton*, 118, C. 19; *geantfristot*, 53, 1; *antfristungon*, 10, (4); with the accented prefix, do not show assimilation.

§ 76. O.H.G. *ph* from Lat. *p* remains in *phruōnda*, 103, 14; *phunt*, 111, (5); and the proper name *phutifar*, 104, 18; in all other instances it has been further shifted to *f*. These are:—*falanzo*, 28, (2); *fifon*, 94, 4; *flanza*, 79, 12; *flanzon*, 82, 11; *flanzota*, 79, 16; 103, 16; *flanzotost*, 43, 3; 79, 9·10·12; *neflanzot*, 103, (16); *niuflanzót*, 127, 3; *flanzunga*, 143, 12; *forzicha*, 102, (7); *forzichin*, 102, (7).

§ 77. O.H.G. *pf*, *ph*, from Germ. *p*. remains in *pfad*, 24, 4; *phaden*, 118, O. 105; *phadón*, 141, 4; *phannun*, 101, 4; but has been simplified to *f* in *fad*, 138, 24; *fade*, 139, 6.

Note 1.—In words compounded with the prefix *int-*, the group *-tph* has given *-ph*, as in the case of those with initial *f*, but no further simplification has taken place. The only instances are *inphlegent*, 103, 12; and *inphliht*, 134, 4.

Note 2.—The *f* which we find interchanging with *ph*, must be a development of that *ph*, and not, in the case of words with an original *tf*, such as *infallen*, etc., the older form, since we never find it written *u*. It must have been the bilabial spirant, like the medial *f* from Germ. *p*, not the labiodental spirant, like the *f* from Germ. *f* [Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 138, Note 2]. From the indiscriminate use of the two orthographies, *ph* and *f* in these words, we must assume that *f* represents the true pronunciation for our text, but that the older spelling has been frequently retained. The confusion in the use of the two symbols to represent the bilabial *f* in this position may have led to the same confusion in the case of the initial bilabial, whether from Germ. or Latin *p* as in *fad*, *falanzo*, *flanza*, for *pfad*, *pfalanzo*, *pflanza*, and further to an occasional use of the writing *ph* to express the labiodental *f* in the Germ. words, *phar*, 49, (8); *pharre*, 21, 13; 67, 31; *pharren*, 67, 31; and the Latin *f* in *phundement*, 81, 5; beside the usual *fundiment*, 80, (16); 86, (1); *fundemente*, 80, (16); *fundimente*, 80, (16); *fundemendo*, 86, (1); of the glosses, and even for Latin *v*. in *phogat*, 34, 1.

§ 78. Medially the symbols *f* and *u* are both used to express the voiceless spirant from Germ. *f*; but *f* alone to express that from Germ. *p*. The instances with *u* are:—*beuore*, 16, 11; *houa*, 95, 8; 99, 4; *houen*, 83, 11; 115, 19; 133, 1; *frîthoua*, 83, (3); *frîthouen*, 64, 5; 134, 2; *cheuer*, 104, 34; *cheuir*, 104, (35); *ouene*, 21, (5); 36, (28); *wolua*, 62, (11); *zewiuele*, *zewuiuelondo*, 105, 33, *zewiuelon*, 118, C. 31; *zewiualtin*, 108, (29).

Note 1.—Greek ϕ is rendered by *f* in *helfentpeîne*, 44, 9,

Latin *v.* appears as *u* in *priêuarra*, 68, (4); *werchpriêuin*, 93, (1); and the proper name, *ioue*, 64, 4.

Note 2.—*f* has fallen between consonants in *funzich*, 105, (18).

§ 79. O.H.G. *pf* from Germ. *p* after consonants or when geminated, occurs in *chapfen*, 12, 1; *chripfent*, 34, 10; *skepfen*, 84, 2; but in all other cases we find the writing *ph* to express the affricata, as in:—*chapheton*, 118, R. 136; *limphent*, 64, 11; *inchnuphet*, 41, 5; *chripho*, 49, 10; *stephet*, 118, +; *uberstepheda*, 38, (7); *uberstephido*, 84, (2).

As in the case of *ph* from *tf* (§ 75), the affricata has become the simple spirant in *helfa*, 7, 11, etc.; *helfen*, 118, R. 133; throughout all the forms of the noun and verb and in the derivatives:—*helfare*, 9, 10, etc.; *helfelose*, 59, 13, etc.; in *sarfemo*, 90, 3; *sarfen*, 34, 17; *werfen*, 2, 3, etc.; *welfer*, 56, (5); 103, 21; *welferen*, 56, 5; in all their forms and derivatives, as in all O.H.G. dialects after the 9th Cent. [Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 131, 5].

Note 1.—In *zoûfer*, 57, 6; *f* appears for general H.G. *b.* *Steffen*, 118, +, [only in Notker] for *stepfen*, from **stapjan*, with umlaut, has the double spirant from the 2nd and 3rd sg. [for the cons. cf. O.S. *stapan*, with single *p*].

Note 2.—*ph* has also arisen medially from Lat. *ff* in *opher*, 4, 6, etc.; and its compounds: *opherbluôte*, 50, 9; *opherfrunscing*, 39, 8; *opherwiêdon*, 73, (3); *âbentopher*, 140, 2; *brantopher*, 49, 8, etc.; and all forms of the verb *opheron*, 25, 6, etc.

Note 3.—The same confusion between the symbols *ph*, and *f*, which existed initially has produced a *ph*, *pf* medially for *f* in *slâphota* 118, D. 28; and probably also in *rophezent*, *rophzta*, 144, 7; *irropfezta*, 44, 2; *irropfzot*, 18, 3; beside *roffizzin*, 74, (2), from a Germ. **ropazôn*.

In the case of *sliphen*, etc., with *pf*, *ph*, we have a weak past part. *peslipheth*, 93, 18, and forms, with no vowel length indicated, *sliphe*, 55, 7; *sliphen*, 120, 3; *sliphenne*, 55, 13, which may go back to a Germ. *pj.*; but in *neglesliphent*, 2, 12; we have either the circumflex wrongly written, or a medial *ph* for *ff* from Germ. *p*, with contamination from the weak verb (see Schade's O.G. Dictionary).

§ 80. H.G. *ph* from Germ. *pp* or *p* after consonants does not occur finally in our text. In every instance the writing *f* appears.

Examples:—*sarf*, 88, (12), etc.; *âwerf*, 21, 7, etc.; *hîlf*, 78, 9, etc.; *wîrf*, 54, 23, etc.; *half*, 29, 11, etc.; *warf*, 18, 14, etc.

Note 1.—Finally in the syllable, *f* appears for *ph*, in *kelimflichor*, 73, 14.

Note 2.—*piscetuôme*, 73, (3); with loss of *f*, is a scribal error.

Note 3.—The writing *ph* occurs finally after a vowel in the one instance, *stoûph*, 10, (7); beside *stoûf* twice, 21, (3); 74, (9) [cf. *stoupha*, Glossen Monseenses in Zacharias; *stopha*, Emmeraner Codex, 28].

Note 4.—In the various parts of the verb *heffen*, analogy has worked largely, giving besides the forms in which *f* (*u*) is regular, such as *heuâra*, 67, 31; *Ûfhewi*, 140, 2; *heuigen*, 105, 9; *unhewig*, 89, 12; or the 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. indic. *irheuest*, 9, 15; *ûfhueust*, 15, 10; *heuēt*, 118, + etc.; *neuberheuēt*, 33, 8; the impf. *heue*, 27, 9, etc.; and pret. *geheuigota*, 40, 10; the following forms with *u* for *ff*: *heuo*, 62, 5; *erheuen*, 9, 20; *irheuen*, 43, 10; *neuberheuen*, 89, (10); *neheuen*, 74, 5; *heuēt*, 4 times, 82, 19, etc.; *ûfheuent*, 23, 7; the subj. *heue*, 26, 3; 138, 8; *neheue*, 2, 11; *ûfheue*, 27, 2; 62, 5; 118, +; *ûfheuendo*, 101, 11; or even for *b* in the past part.: *erhauen*, 8, 2; 130, 1; *irhauen*, 4 times, 46, 10, etc.; *ûfirhauen*, 34, 5; 43, 26; *erhauenemo*, 135, 12.

heuuet, 112, 7; with *uu*, is a scribal error for *heuēt*; no other instance of the writing *uu* for *ff* occurring.

Chap. VI. Dentals.

d

§ 81. O.H.G. *d* (W. Germ. *þ*) appears in this text as *d* and *t*.

§ 82. (a) O.H.G. *d* appears as *t* initially in the sentence or phrase and also in the word or second element of a compound, if preceded by a final consonant (explosive or spirant).

(b) It appears as *d* initially in the word or second element of a compound, if preceded by a final sonant.

Examples:—*irdâhton*, 105, 29; but *ih tâhta*, 72, 15; *arges tâhton*, 72, 8; *unde danageneme*, 33, 17; but *sint tanagestôzzen*, 87, 6; *iro danches*, 72, 23; but *mînes tanches*, 29, 2; *aber darachâmen*, 105, 33; but *ih tarachumo*, 5, 8; *nedenchen*, 110, 9; but *ih tencho*, 118, K. 77; *bezzeren dingis*, 96, 12; but *eînes tinges*, 26, 4; *anderiu driû*, 77, 48; but *zuêihunt triûhunt*, 89, 4; *mâren duldetage*, 80, 4; but *zeichenhaft tultitago*, 80, (4); *unde durstige*, 106, 5; but *ioh turstege*, 106, 38.

Note 1.—A few exceptions occur:

(a) *d* appears after consonants 6 times only, in: *ih denche*, 72, 17; *liêhtes darbent*, 55, 13; *Dînes danches*, 55, 9; *des dinges*, 44, 8; *liût diemuôter*, 73, 21; and in *abkotdiênist*, 77, (58); even in the glosses, which usually show *t* for *d*.

(b) *t* occurs 7 times after sonants in the text, in: *gemeîtun tewuôg*, 72, 13; *diên tiêfinon*, 67, 23; *suâre truôhe*, 145, 7; *so tuncheliû*, 104, 28; *getunchot*, 67, 24; 80, 11; *ketunchotemo*, 50, 9.

(c) in the glosses *t* occurs for *d* 19 times after preceding sonants in the text, 3 times after sonants in the same gloss; these instances are: *alle (tanchis)*, 68, (5); *sîne (tegena)*, 103, (17); *unde (tolunga)*, 19, (7); *unde (triû)*, 21, (5); *diê (truôhe)*, 68, (34); *kâben (turftigon)*, 90, (7); 4 times in *tiête* as in *wanda (tiête)*, 45, (4); 4 times in *tiêto*, as in *dero (tiêto)*, 17, (44); and 5 times in *tiêtin*, as in *uunder tiêtin*, 9, (12); or after sonants in the gloss: *also tecchi*, 68, (5); *wolchene toneronde*, 88, (8); *muôte toûmote*, 9, D. 9.

Note 2.—Initially in the sentence *d* appears 10 times, irrespective of the preceding word. The instances are: *Dang*, 88, 51; *Dancho*, 102, 2; *Denche*, 5, 3; *Denchent*, 47, 14; *Diênont*, 2, 11; 99, 2; *Durch*, 11, 5; *Durhstôz*, 118, P. 120; *Durre*, 77, 17; *Dusent*, 67, 18; *Durftiger*, 73, 21.

Note 3.—In the case of the personal pronoun of the 2nd pers. sg., of the demonstrative pronoun and pronominal adverbs from the demonstrative stem, this rule does not apply. The writing with *t* is exceptional even after consonants, *d* occurring usually in all positions. Thus we find in the first 7 chapters, *habest du*, 4, 7; *gehôrest dû*, 5, 4; *neirrefsest du*, 6, 2; *neinchunnîst dû*, 6, 2; *twêlest du*, 6, 4; *daz dû*, 7, 8; *gerihdest dû*, 7, 10; while in the same seven chapters, *dû* occurs 14 times after final vowels or sonants and 3 times initially in the sentence.

Similarly in these same chapters, we have *sâlig der*, 1, 1; *nebist der*, 5, 5; *nebûet der*, 5, 6; *hiêz der*, 7, 1; *der neist der*, 7, 3; *Got der*, 7, 12; *ist der*, 8, 5; 9, 1; *sprichet der*, 9, 14; *chit der*, 9, 16; *daz der*, 9, 17; *inzundet der*, 9, D. 2; with only 6 instances of *der* after a final vowel, once initially in the sentence, in 1, 1; and three times initially in the phrase.

In Chapters I-IX, *den* occurs 3 times after consonants, 6 times initially in the sentence or phrase, and 10 times after vowels.

Daz, as pronoun or article, occurs 6 times in Chapters I-X after a consonant, 11 times initially in its sentence, 10 times initially in its phrase, and 17 times after vowels or sonants.

dâr, in Chapters I-XX does not occur after a consonant, but 7 times initially in the sentence or phrase, and in 4 of these cases, after a final consonant in the preceding phrase.

On the other hand, in a comparatively few instances, *t* is found in these words, after a final consonant. These are: *wort tînes*, 137, 4; *nah tînemô*, 19, 5; *sament tînemô*, 139, 14; *dod tînen*, 9, 16; *habest tînen*, 137, 2; *dag tîna*, 70, 8; *sâlig tes*, 1, 2; *mit temo*, 45, 3; *nâh temo*, 136, 8; *sint tiu*, 105, 2; *gehôrtost tiu*, 137, 1; *mundes tiu*, 137, 4; *nesuôchet tiâ*, 9, D. 4; *chedent tiê*, 9, D. 1, *sluôg tiê*, 104, 36; *sint tiê*, 105, 3; *ist tiz*, 16, Int.; *sint tiz*, 136, 5; *noh tise*, 1, 5; *tû*, 5 times, as in *kehûfost tû*, 137, 3; *tu*, 9 times, as in *taz tu*, 137, 2; *tîn*, 4 times, as in *gehôret tîn*, 9, D. 17; *tir*, 4 times, as in *ih tir*, 2, 8; *tih*, 6 times, as in *ih tih*, 2, 7; *ter*, 12 times, as in *weg ter*, 1, 1; *ten*, 7 times, as in *wêiz ten*, 1, 6; *taz*, 12 times, as in *Nals taz*, 2, 4; *tiû*, 5 times, as in *mit tiû*, 8, 3; *tero*, 8 times, as in *Nâh tero*, 7, 9; *tie*, 5 times, as in *nesint tie*, 1, 5.

ter occurs twice after sonants, in:—*in ter*, 2, 2; and *er ter*, 118, Z. for *er ten*; *ten* once, in *anawellen ten*, 17, 40; *tîe* in *âchusten tîe*, 136, 8; where however it is initial in its own phrase.

The retention of the *d* in these familiar words is due to the scribe. The instances in which *t* occurs are, with very few exceptions, regular and hence belong to the author, who has throughout treated his initial *b*, *d*, *g*, with great regularity; but the scribe, while faithfully following his copy in most cases, has usually substituted the *d* of his own dialect in these words of constant use.

§ 83. O.H.G. *d* (Germ. *þ*) has fallen medially between vowels and contraction has followed in:—*chist*, 50, 10, etc.; *chît*, 1, 1, etc.; *chîd*, 23, 1, etc.; *chûit*, 118, +; *hît*, 4, 2; for *chît*. These are the regular forms for this text, with or without the circumflex.

Notæ 1.—Latin *d* remains medially in: *prediâre*, 47, (14), etc.; *brediare*, 100,

(6); *predio*, 80, (3); *prediga*, 88, (51); *brediga*, 80, (3); *predigondo*, 45, (4); *gebredigot*, 67, 9; *ordinot*, 111, 5; *ordinont*, 49, 5.

§ 84. Unvoicing of final *d* has taken place regularly in *munt*, 5, 2, etc.; *chunt*, 15, 10, etc.; *unchunt*, 142, 8; and *ecchert*, 138, (16); throughout our text.

It has also taken place sporadically in:—*iugent*, 42, 4; 102, 5; *rint*, 68, 32; *scéit*, 106, (39); *scéitiudon*, 18, (9); *dót*, 51, 6; 89, 6, (7); *tót*, 29, 6; 59, (9); *tugint*, 107, (14); *fermât*, 33, 15; *wart*, 9, 6; and *chat*, 7 times, 18, 8, etc., and the compounds:—*ertpîboth*, 34, (16); *lintmuotige*, 95, (12); *suntwint*, 77, 26; *muntman*, 40, 10.

Note 1.—To be noted is the writing *th* for final *d* in *toth*, 29, (9); *troûmsceith*, 104, (22); *ziêreth*, 72, 14.

t

§ 85. O.H.G. *t* from Germ. *d* appears as *t* initially, whether it occurs after a consonant or sonant or initially in the sentence.

(a) Examples after consonants are:—*hêiligtuôm*, 89, (11); *ih trûen*, 118, Int; *mit trânen*, 79, 6; *des touben aspidis*, 57, 5.

(b) after sonants:—*disa toufi*, 73, 13; *netualta*, 109, 7; *mîne trâne*, 38, 13; *der troûm*, 72, 20; *der tegel*, 21, 16.

(c) initially in the sentence *T* appears with the few exceptions of *Duó*, [see below, § 86, Note 4], as in *Tuó*, 4, 2, etc., and *Truwest*, 123, 5.

§ 86. A tendency exists however, already, to soften initial *t* to *d* after *-n*, whether in compounds or after final *-n* of the preceding word, as more regularly later in M.H.G. The instances in the text are:—*in dage*, 12, 2; 118, V. 164; *in miten dagen*, 73, 4; *alten daga*, 76, 6; *niémannen daron*, 104, 14; *mittetagen diéuale*, 90, 6; *rihten dische*, 77, 20; *dín diske*, 127, 3; *wâren diûre*, 20, 4; *undothêit*, 37, (5); *ten dód*, 9, 13; *tâten dód*, 9, 16; *Den dód*, 34, 8; 40, 8; *in dódes*, 106, 10; *den dót*, 51, 6; 89, 6; *in dûtiscun*, 80, 3; *undûrliche*, 78, 3; *induóest*, 50, 17; *induóst*, 144, 16; *induót*, 28, 8; *induón*, 65, 17; 77, 2; *indûont*, 117, 19; *indeta*, 7, 16; 105, 17; 118, R. 131; *neindeta*, 38, 10; *indâten*, 34, 21; *indân*, 36, 25; 100, 6; 108, 2; *indane*, 117, 20; *indaniû*, 10, 5; *wîlon duónt*, 103, 17; *in deta*, 17, 14; *meîndâte*, 43, 22; *in drâghêite*, 106, 22; *indrinno*, 138, 9; and always in this verb; *undriûwon*, 23, 4; *ze genâdon dróstost*, 70, 21; *in druccheni*,

106, 34; *getân druhten*, 39, 6; 25 times in *dag*, as in *eînen dag*, 22, 6, etc.; 4 times in *induo*, as in 64, 11, etc.; and 4 times in *drôst*, as in *sîn drôst*, 9, D. 14, etc.

Note 1.—In *drinchen*, 41, 4; *t* has become *d* after Latin *-m* (*fontem*).

Note 2.—This tendency is by no means fully carried out in the orthography. Side by side with the examples just given, occur forms with *t*, as in: *den tag*, 31, 3; 37, 13; 60, 7; *îlton taron*, 27, 4; *mînen tîsg*, 68, 23; *man tiûrera ferliêsen mag*, 118, Q. 128; 12 times in *tôd*, as in *sundigon tôd*, 33, 22, etc.; *untûrlîcho*, 73, 6; *intuô*, 80, 11; *intuôn*, 102, 5; *mennischen tuôn*, 9, 9; *inteta*, 77, 23; 105, 9; *min trinchen*, 101, 10; *untriûwon*, 69, 4; *in truccheni*, 104, 41; *in trucchenemo*, 71, 6; 6 times in *tuôn*, as in *eînen tuôn*, 33, 4, etc.; 12 times in *teta*, as in *in tetâ*, 94, 10, etc.; 4 times in *trôst*, as in *wirseren trôst*, 24, 19, etc.; or with no corresponding forms with *d*: *in torcelhûsen*, 83, 2; *in tieffemo*, 77, 15; *in toufta*, 80, 6; *wîlon tougeno*, 36, 28; *gesilbertun tûbun*, 67, 14; *an tympano*, 149, 3; with Latin *t* remaining.

Note 3.—*t* also appears as *d* in a few cases after a final vowel. Those in the text are: *sînero dîlegungo*, 73, 14; *harto diêf*, 91, 6; *unde diêren*, 78, 2; *allero diûresten*, 44, 14; beside the usual forms with *t*, as in *irbarmidon tîligo*, 50, 3; *wolton tîligon*, 94, 4; *unde tiûre*, 18, 11; *uzer tiûremo*, 20, 4.

Note 4.—Initially in the sentence, D appears for T in one word only, in *Dûo*, 20 times, 3, 7, etc.

Note 5.—*d* occurs once after a consonant, in *stang diûrero chriûtero*, 44, 9.

Note 6.—The word *dunist* [Germ. *p* or *d*, see Kluge's Etym. Dict.] occurs with *d* only in the text. The instances are: *diê duniste*, 28, 11; *fore duniste*, 54, 9; *dero duniste*, 80, 8; *unde dunistig*, 10, 7; *unde dunistîge*, 148, 8; *der dunistigo*, 106, 25; always after a vowel or *-r*. The form with *t* occurs once as a gloss in *wieo* (*tunist*), 88, (13); after a vowel.

Note 7.—The instances of *d* for general H.G. *t* are less frequent in the glosses than in the text, 8 only occurring; e.g. after *n*: *iungestin dage*, 82 (16); *sehsten dag*, 92, (Int.); *den dô*, 87, (7); *mêindât*, 105, (38); *undâte*, 68, (6); after vowels: *suonodach*, 100, (8); *demo diêuele*, 43, (20); *tumben tiêrin*, 70, (19).

Note 8.—Latin *t* remains in text and glosses. Examples are: *timpana*, 80, (3); *trinnisso*, 54, (22); *turre*, 60, 4; *turrin*, 47, (13); 121, 7; *tursa*, 17, (32).

Note 9.—*Trebenont*, 26, 12; *getrotrot*; 83, 1; *tum*, 14, 3; *umbeturnun*, 30, (14); are forms peculiar to Notker. (Schade, O.G. Dict.)

§ 87. Medially O.H.G. *t* has become *d* after *n*, as in:—*handen*, 7, 4, etc.; *lande*, 26, 13, etc.; *spendo*, 59, (8); *wenden*, 9, D. 9; *under*, 6, 8, etc.; *hinder*, 39, 15, etc.; *wanda*, 1, 1, etc.; in the weak pret. ending, as in:—*branda*, 59, 2; *pegagenda*, 73, 4; *bechandon*, 21, 18, etc.; *nechonda*, 34, 11, etc.; *gescêindi*, 77, 31, etc.; *suôndost*, 129, 4; and in *stuônden*, 131, 7, etc. A large number of examples is afforded by the ending of the present part. both in the uninflected form in *-endo* [Kelle, die Psalmen Notkers, p. 63], and in the inflected forms, but the rule is not so regularly carried out in these instances as in

those given above, forms with the original *-t* being also numerous, especially in the glosses.

Examples with *d* are:—*bringendo*, 44, 13; *betondo*, 37, 8, etc.; *denchendo*, 76, 4; *furhtendo*, 6, 1, etc.; *gebendo*, 111, 5; *wesendo*, 15, 8, etc.; *sehender*, 80, 1; *tuõnde*, 85, 10; *zuógãndero*, 70, 18; *lebendon*, 26, 13, etc.; in the text; *haltendo*, 82, (3); *singendo*, 4, (3); *wahsindo*, 98, (9); *slaffinde*, 87, (6); *anasehinde*, 97, (3); in the glosses.

with *t*: *bétonten*, 16, Int.; *fehntenter*, 32, 16; *haltenten*, 67, 21; *hinafarenter*, 77, 39; *iéhenten*, 73, 19; *sagente*, 77, 4; *wellento*, 5, 5; *wizzentes*, 50, 4; in the text; *lebenton*, 16, (14); *ferfarinta*, 23, (4); *fluóchontemo*, *seginonte*, 36, (23); *habinte*, 31, (7); *haltanto*, 46, (10); *hangenten*, 108, (25); *chaltentiro*, 24, (17); *geséhente*, 88, (20); *sprangonten*, 38, (1); *widerbrechenta*, 69, (6); in the glosses.

Note 1.—Exceptions are: *winteres*, 125, 4; with Germ. *t*.; *wíntroton*, 55, (1); *manta*, 34, 14, etc.; besides the numerous instances of the present part. with ; given above.

§ 88. The same tendency of H.G. *t* to become voiced exists after *m*.

Examples are:—*cramda*, 9, D. 13, etc.; *gramdon*, 77, 41·56, etc.; *cramdon*, 5, 11, etc.; *namda*, 62, 11, etc.; *namdi*, 89, 12; *genamdo*, 17, 47, etc.; *genamde*, 118, C. 21, etc.; *neîmda*, 39, 8; *benéimda*, 24, 10·14, etc.; *beneîmdon*, 16, 11, etc.; *peneîmda*, 88, 4; *penéimdost*, 43, 18; *kerûmda*, 118, L. 83; *scirmda*, 26, 5, etc.; *schirmda*, 19, 2; *scirmdost*, 63, 3; *schirmdost*, 70, 6.

Note 1.—A few cases also occur with *d* for *t* after *l* and *r*. These are:—*haldet*, 118, E. 36; *êinhaltbaldâre*, 96, (8); *irwardlichen*, 89, (9).

Note 2.—*Châden*, 11, 5, etc.; and 43 times; *nechâde*, 43, 22; 106, 1; *nechâden*, 73, 18; 128, 8; *zuochâden*, 92, 1; *worden*, 15, 6, etc., and *wurden*, 9, 7, etc. and the various forms of the weak grade retain the *d* of the present stem. In the last instance a few exceptions occur:—*uurte*, 9, D. 1; *wurte*, 19, 4; 122, 1; *wurten*, 21, 6; *worten*, 12, 5; 52, 4.

Note 3.—Assimilation of Germ. *d* to the corresponding nasal before *m*, has taken place in *manmindî*, 33, (21); *manmende*, 33, 3; *gemanmendest*, 93, 13; or more fully to the labial nasal in *mammendi*, 5 times, 44, 5 etc.; *mammende*, 5 times, 85, 5, etc.; *mammenden*, 36, 11; 75, 10; *mamminte*, 24, (10).

Note 4.—To be noted is the writing *th* for *t* in *gehulther*, 24, 18.

§ 89. O.H.G. *tt* from Germ. *dd* remains, as in *bette*, 6, 7, etc.; *dritta*, 106, 22; *pritttel*, 31, (9); *mitti*, 47, 10, etc.

Note 1.—To be noted are the Alem. forms with gemination after a long vowel or diphthong in *lêitta*, 135, 14; *ferlêitton*, 106, 40; *stâtta*, 77, 13; 118, U. 159; *stâttoost*, 118, T. 152; *nehuôttost*, 118, A. 8; *lûtton*, 76, 18; *lêitti*, 43, 18; *gebrêittost*,

4, 2; *gechattost*, 84, 2; *analiùtti*, 20, 7; *analutte*, 139, 14; *èitter*, 139, 4; *lütter*, 85, 5; *lütteres*, 74, 9; *lutteriû*, 56, 11; *lütterä*, 25, 6; *lütteri*, 17, 21; beside forms with single *t*, as in *analiûte*, 12 times, 15, 10, etc.; *analiûtes*, 9 times, 4, 7, etc.; *èiter*, 13, 3; *lûter*, 4 times, 11, 7, etc.; *lûtero*, 61, (5); *lûteren*, 74, 9; *lûteri*, 54, 4; which are by far the most frequent.

Note 2.—Both forms, with and without gemination, appear also after the short vowel in: *bruti*, 58, 13; *brutina*, 87, 17; and *brutti*, 87, (18); *pruttelih*, 75, (13); *itewiz*, 21, 7, etc.; *itewizza*, 68, 10; and *ittewizze*, 30, 12, etc.

Note 3.—*mittten*, 47, 10; *satttost*, 74, (2); with *ttt*; *irlittena*, 54, 9; *wirttontin*, 41, (5); *sîttun*, 90, 7; *zebîttinne*, 85, (5); *blûottine*, 82, (8) with *tt* are scribal errors.

Note 4.—Levelling out in favour of the forms with single *t* in the verb *bitten*, has already taken place frequently, as later in M.H.G. The instances are: the 1st pers. sg.: *bito*, 70, 9; *pito*, 26, 4; 38, 8; 101, (3); and the infin. and pl. forms: *biten*, 38, 13; *bitên*, 89, 17; *piten*, 36, 22; 118, K. 74; *bitent*, 9, D. 3; *pitent*, 36, 22; 144, 18.

Note 6.—the forms with single *t* alone appear in our text in:—*eteliche*, 37, 12, etc.; *etelih*, 67, 15, etc.; *eteliches*, 103, 15; *etelichen*, 30, 10, etc.; *etelicher*, 118, T. 147; *etelîchero*, 37, 8; *etewaz*, 8, 6, etc.; *etewiêo*, 89, 13.

§ 90. (a) Finally also a tendency exists to soften the voiceless to the voiced dental after *l*.

The instances are:—*gold*, 25, 10, etc.; *cold*, 68, 3, etc.; beside *golt*, 18, 11, etc.; *kolt*, 80, (16), etc.; *sculd*, 63, (6), etc.; *wald*, 82, 16; beside *walt*, 82 (16); *bald*, 26, 14, etc.; *unbald*, 87, 10; beside *balt*, 92, (5); *hold*, 54, 4; *unhold*, 146, 10; or finally in the syllable in compounds in:—*feldscóni*, 49, 11; *holdlîchen*, 24, 10; *waldfelden*, 131, 6; *walldtiêr*, 103, 20·22; 148, 10.

Note 1.—From these instances it will be seen, that the forms with *d* are almost exclusively in the text and may therefore be ascribed to the author; those with *t* are principally glosses.

Note 2.—In verbal stems *t* remains, as in:—*solt*, 10, 3, etc.; *halt*, 6, 5, etc.; *hiêlt*, 105, 8, etc.; *spiêlt*, 104, 41.

(b) after *n* and *r*, in *albrandopher*, 64, (2); and *irwardlîchen*, 89, (9); but forms with *t* are the usual ones, as in *hant*, 9, D. 14, etc.; *lant*, 18, 5, etc.; *fîent*, 8, 3, etc.; *friûnt*, 7, 1, etc.; *blint*, 65, (3); *gesund*, 16, (7), etc.; *danchont*, 2, 11, etc.; *fergebent*, 111, (5).

Note 1.—*Âbent*, 64, 9; *hâbent*, 54, 18; always has *t* finally, interchanging with *d* medially, as in *âbende*, 29, 6, etc.

[For *chint*, 4, 3; from general H.G. *t*, see Braune's O.H.G. Gram. § 163, *Anm.* 6.]

Note 2.—To note is *lâzzen*, 94, 1; with loss of final *t*.

(c) in the suffix *-ôt* in *anablasód*, 45, 5; *sûftod*, 11, 6, etc.; *siûftod*, 101, 21; *screiód*, 143, 14; *trettód*, 55, 2; *weînod*, 29, 12; *wellód*, 54,

23; *wizzod*, 68, (22); and in *prûd*, 8, (4); *tod* (adj.), 87, (10); *gâd*, 7, 17; 16, 12; *chîd*, 23, 1; 71, 7; *bind*, (2nd pl.) 81, (7); all before vowels, except in the case of *anablasôd*, *sûftod* and *siûftod*, which are followed by *d*- (in *dero*), to which final *t* has been assimilated.

Note.—*th* occurs finally for *t* in *wizzoth*, 47, (10); *ertpîboth*, 34, (16); and *wannoth*, 24, (21).

§ 91. (a) Assimilation of *tl* to *ll* has taken place in *guóllich*, 7, 7, etc.; *kuóllih*, 51, 4, etc.; *guóllichi*, 3, 4, etc.; *kuóllichi*, 8, 7, etc.; *guóllichon*, 85, 13, etc.; *guóllicheit*, 73, (5); and all words from this stem, except the one instance *guotlichi*, 5, (6); and in *unwállicha*, 44, 11.

(b) of *sts* to *ss* in *lussami*, 15, 10; 22, 5; 75, 6; 76, 4; 103, 34; *lussam*, 108, 18; *gelussamot*, 67, 4, etc.; beside *lustsami*, 15, 9 35, 9; 36, 4; *lustsame*, 64, 9; *lustsamo*, 36, 11; *lustsameren*, 18, 11.

Note 1.—*t* has fallen between consonants in *ahzeg*, 89, 10; after *s* in: *erisporinni*, 46, (5); *keîslichi*, 57, (12); *keîslih*, 44, (17); *kêislicha*, 22, 2; *keîslîcha*, 32, (19); *keîslicha*, 68, 32; *keisticho*, 45, (10); *keislichiû*, 46, (5); *keîslichemo*, 35, (9); *gêislicha*, 36, (25); *geîsliche*, 44, (8); *geîslichô*, 144, 9; *gêislichen*, 121, 3.

Note 2.—An excrescent *t* has been inserted after *n* in *sintfluôte*, 101, (28); beside *sinfluôte*, 89, (4). In *glustatin*, 64, (1); *hantâte*, 18, 2; *furstuôma*, 70, (19); the *tt* of the two syllables has been simplified to *t*.

(c) In the prefix *-int*, final *t* has been assimilated to a following *b*, *d*, *t*, *g*, *ph* or *ch*.

The instances are:—*inberen*, 78, 9; *inbrinnet*, 17, 9; *inbran*, 38, 4; 77, 21; *inbrunnen*, 117, 12; *inbunde*, 50, 17; 101, 21; *inladeta*, 30, 18; *induôst*, 144, 16; *induâest*, 50, 17; *induôt*, 28, 8; *induô*, 4 times, 64, 11, etc.; *induôn*, 65, 17, etc.; *indûont*, 117, 19; *indeta*, 7, 16; 105, 17; *intuô*, 80, 11; *intuôn*, 102, 5; *inteta*, 77, 23; *ingangen*, 54, 22; *neingange*, 89, 13; *ingelte*, 58, 6; *ingelten*, 34, 15; 58, 6; 108, 5; *inchîst*, 79, 5·6; *inchît*, 12, 4; 77, 4; *inchnuphet*, 41, 5; *inchonda*, 50, 2; *inchondon*, 15, 7; *inphlegent*, 103, 12; *inphliht*, 134, 4.

[For *t* before *f* see § 75.]

Note 1.—Before liquids *-h*, *-s*, *-w*, assimilation has not taken place.

The instances are:—*intlad*, 38, 14; *intluôd*, 80, 7; *neintlâzet*, 118, I. 70; *intliez*, 113, 8; *intliûhtit*, 98, (2); *intliûht*, 36, (6); *intliûhte*, 75, (6); 104, (4); *intrihtit*, 95, 10; *inthêiza*, 21, 26; *intheîzza*, 4 times, 55, 12, etc.; *intheîzzent*; *intheîze*, 75, 12; *intsaget*, 118, E. 39; *intsageti*, 31, 3; *intsezzo*, 74, 11; *intsezzet*, 71, 4; 88, 40; *intsazta*, 44, 17; *intsazte*, 72, 19; *intslâfo*, 15, 9; *intslîeffen*, 75, 7; *intwenita*, 130, 2; *intwerest*, 84, 11; *intweret*, 88, 39; *intwerent*, 88, 32; *intwereton*, 54, 21; *zintwerinne*, 18, (8); *neintwere*, 74, 1; *neintweren*, 88, 35.

Note 2.—*neinslâffe*, 12, 4; *zeinspannenne*, 30, 14 are analogical formations from *inberen*, etc.

Note 3.—The voicing of *t* to *d* after *n* does not occur in the case of the prefix *-int*.

S

§ 92. The treatment of *s* offers little to remark. Medially, it has been assimilated regularly to the following *-r* in the demonstrative *derro*, 32, 1, etc.; for *desero*.

Note.—*irscassen*, 74, 8; with *ss* for *irscaphan* (Graff. Ahd. Wortschatz); *sut*, 69, 2; for *sus*, are scribal errors.

Z

§ 93. The writing *c* is rare; in words of Germanic origin it occurs only in *cêndûsendîg*, 67, 18, initially and *ficise*, 34, (19), medially; in foreign words the two symbols are used indifferently. The instances are:—

(a) initially:—*cymbon*, 94, 4; and *zymbon*, 150, 5; *cythara*, 146, 7; *cytharun*, 42, 4; and *ziterun*, 32, 2; while *cedâr*, 118, +; *cêdar*, 119, 5; *cêderboûme*, 36, 35, show *c* only.

(b) medially:—*chrûce*, 33, (21); 34, (16); *chriûce*, 34, 21, etc.; and *chriûze*, 56, (5), etc.; *chriucis*, 41, (1), etc.; and *chriûzis*, 48, (1); *chriûcigot*, 43, (1); *chriûcigont*, 16, (12); and *chriûzege*, 63, (4), etc.; *chriûzegon*, 63, 8; *chriûzegoton*, 44, 1, etc.; *criûzegotin*, 37, 12; *nechriûzegotin*, 44, (1); *chrûcigunga*, 19, (4).

Note.—To be noted is *lichisare*, 34, (19); with *-s* for *-z*.

§ 94. The spirant *zz* from Germ. *t* between vowels remains, written either *zz* or *z*. After short vowels it is usually written *zz*, but *z* occurs about 50 times; after long, indifferently *zz* or *z*.

Examples after short vowels are:—*âgezze*, 44, 11, etc.; and *âgeze*, 30, 13; *wazzere*, 1, 3, etc.; and *wazer*, 17, 12; *bezzera*, 57, 2, etc.; and *bezera*, 118, I. 72; *izzit*, 44, (3); and *izet*, 103, 17; *wizzen*, 1, 6, etc.; *urdruzzi*, 15, 10, etc.; but *lezesten*, 72, 17.

After long vowels:—*lâzzent*, 37, 8; and *lâzent*, 103, 8; *sâzzen*, 53, 2; and *sâzen*, 118, C. 23; *strâzzo*, 80, (1); and *strâzo*, 17, 43; *itewîzzes*, 88, 51; *lôzze*, 77, 54; and *lôze*, 30, 16; *ferstôzzen*, 35, 13, etc.; and *ferstôzen*, 14, 5, etc.; *ûzzer*, 36, 9, etc.; and *ûzer*, 8, 3, etc.; *irdriézzen*, 43, 9; and *irdriézen*, 11, 1, etc.; *heîzzest*, 53, 8; and *heîzest*, 24, 11; *muózze*, 16, 2, etc.; and *muózen*, 15, 10; *sciézzent*, 63, 6; and *sciézent*, 10, 4; *fuózze*, 8, 8, etc.; and *fuóze*, 17, 37, etc.

Note.—*Das*, 130, 1, for *daz*, is due to the scribe.

Chap. VII. Gutturals.

g

§ 95. O.H.G. *g* (Germ. voiced spirant, or explosive) appears as *g* and *k*.

§ 96. (a) O.H.G. *g* appears as *k*, initially in the sentence or phrase; and after a final consonant, initially in the word, or second element of a compound.

(b) It appears as *g* after a final sonant, initially in the word, or second element of a compound.

Examples:—*mîn gebet*, 16, 1; but *tiz kebet*, 16, *Int.*; *ze gebo*, 45, 7; but *sunderîg keba*, 32, 15; *unrehtiû gireda* 72, 26; but *werltkirida*, 7, (10); *offengrab*, 5, 11; but *daz crâbewergh*, 105, 19; *aber greht*, 24, 8; but *sint creht*, 18, 9; *ze guôte*, 17, 47; but *îlent kuôte*, 8, 1; *er gab*, 55, 5; but *lîb cab*, 21, 25; *er gehorta*, 21, 25; but *Got kehôrta*, 33, 7; *in gesiêho*, 41, 6; but *inwert kesiêho*, 41, 5; *só gescehen*, 29, 9; but *mag kescêhen*, 46, 8; *dié giéngen*, 72, 27; but *ih kiéng*, 72, 27.

Note 1.—A few exceptions occur. Those in the text are:

(a) with *g* after a consonant:—*ze dero wîs gâd*, 7, 17; *was gagen*, 21, 14; *wîg gagen*, 26, 3; *ih gagen*, 142, 6; *Daranah gebar*, 7, 15; *ih gedagen*, 76, 4; *gânt gefrenchet*, 143, 12; *mih gehaltenen*, 3, 7; *solih gehangta*, 77, 65; *nehahet gehêizzen*, 28, 11; *Daz gechôse*, 118, R. 136; *ist gelobot*, 71, 17; *daranâh gemalenez*, 73, 14; *ist gnâda*, 17, 51; *des gnâda*, 20, 8; *sint gnâda*, 24, 10; *mit gnâdon*, 24, 8; *ward gescaffen*, 143, 4; *noh geschêhen*, 2, 7; *Daz geskiêhet*, 109, 5; the compound, *werlt-gescihten*, 9, 2; *ih gesiêho*, 8, 4; *ist gesprochen*, 10, 7; *nals Goldes*, 33, 5; *unsih getân*, 4, 7; *nals greht*, 35, 11; *wird guôllich*, 7, 7; *kotes guôllich*, 18, 2; *Pringent guôllich*, 28, 2; *sih guôllichota*, 88, 11; *chûit guôttâto*, 118, +; and *mortalitatis gechoreta*, 109, 7, after Latin *-s*; that is, 33 times in all.

(b) Examples of *k* after sonants are less numerous; they are:—*man kêiscot*, 97, 3; *wola kefehnt*, 30, 22; *fuôra kegeben*, 22, 2; *Truhten kehôret*, 4, 4; *tenne kenezzet*, 71, 6; *zesezun keskêiden*, 111, 6; *er ketuon*, 110, 6; *Truhten kibet*, 67, 12; *werden kewunnesamot*, 67, 4; *iro irdenchedon cramdon*, 105, 29; and in *iudicio keshêinet*, 20, 9, after Latin *o*; that is, 13 times.

(c) Initially in the sentence *g* occurs 23 times, in: *Gange*, 22, 4; *Gehalt*, 3, 7; *Gehôre*, 16, 1; 140, 1; 142, 1; *Gehôrrent*, 2, 10; *Gehuhtig*, 19, 4; *Gelobot*, 143, 1; *Gnâde*, 5 times, 4, 2, etc.; *Gnâda*, 30, 10; *Gib*, 5 times, 16, 7, etc.; *Gesterchet*, 68, 5; *Gold*, 134, 17.

(d) The rule is less accurately followed in the case of *g* initial in the phrase, than in that of *b* and *d*; *g* appears fairly frequently after sonants and in one or two instances even after consonants. Instances are: *den wâren legislatorem*, *kib in den des siê werd sîn · gib in antichristum*, 9, 21; in which we have an instance of both *g* and *k* after a nasal; *unz ih mîne heiligen êinzen samenondo · kewahso*, etc.,

30, 4; *unde diên gestaltên · kât in ze iû*, etc., 30, 4; *in segene · keîstlichîû ding*, etc., 36, 26; *der ouh gentes bezeichenda, keurchundota*, etc., 80, 6; with *k* after sonants; but *Dôh wir . . . sîn · gelih*, etc., 42, 1; *So tuôndo · gehêiligôta*, etc.; 45, 5; *Sino geferrêt*, etc., 54, 8; *salmo · gesungener*, etc., 60, 1; *dero wortô · gedagendo*, etc., 1, 3; with *g* after sonants; and *kediêmuôtet · gagen des*, etc., 9, 14; with *g* after a consonant.

Note 2.—In the glosses *k* is more usual than *g* in all positions; it occurs 108 times after sonants, whether also in the gloss or in the text. Examples are:—*sîne* (*canherben*), 36, (22); *in* (*crimmi*); *iro* (*crimmi*), 57, (7); *die* (*crap*), 58, (1); *mir* (*kedwanch*), 70, (20); *dinero suôzzi* (*kirigin*), 67, (11); or initial in the phrase, (*starchi · kespreîti*), 67, (28); where *k* follows a vowel, which is also in the gloss.

On the other hand *g* occurs 5 times in glosses after a consonant, in *kotes guotlichî*, 5, (6), *des grabis*, 56, (1); *phunt gabe*, 111, (5); in which the preceding consonant is also in the gloss; and in *ist* (*genîda*), 22, (5); *ist* (*gerih*), 42, (2); after a consonant in the text.

Note 3.—In considering the treatment of O.H.G. *g* in this text, no instances have been given of the word *got*, which requires special mention. It forms an exception to the general rule given above, retaining the initial *g* usually after consonants as well as sonants. Examples after sonants:—*er got wolta werden*, 1, 1; *Wanda got*, 1, 6; *rihte got*, 5, 11; *sié got kehôre*, 6, 11; *Truhten got*, 7, 5; *âne got*, 9, 18; *in gote*, 4, 9; *dero goto*, 49, 1; *lugge gota*, 4, 3; *ube got*, 13, 1; *wider Gote*, 1, 1, etc.

After consonants:—*taz got*, 2, 4, etc.; *daz sih got*, 2, 12; *ist got*, 17, 32; *irhôhet Got*, 17, 47; *bist Got*, 17, 48; *diênont gote*, 2, 11; *Pringent gote*, 4, 6; *sint Gota*, 94, 3, etc.

In the glosses *g* also appears after consonants in *dih* (*got*), 3, (4); *nals* (*got*), 21, (18); *was* (*Gotscelto*), 55, (9); *ioh* (*Gotedahte*), 107, (10); *nals* (*goteheit*), 21, (18).

Initially also *g* occurs frequently in this word. Examples are:—*Gotes*, 13, 5; *Got*, 6 times, 13, 5; 17, 51, etc.

The writing with *k* or *c* appears comparatively seldom. The instances in the text are:—*echert kot*, 13, 6; *frist kot*, 9, D. 4; *chît kot*, 11, 6; *daz cot*, 4, 4; *wirt cot*, 9, 17; *wânet cot*, 9, 19; *daz cot*, 13, 1; *zellent kotes guôllichî*, *daz kotes rîche*, 18, 2; *unseres kotes*, 19, 6; *daz cotes*, 3, 9; *ih cote*, 15, 7, after consonants; *wile kote*, 18, 15, after a sonant; *Kotes*, 28, 1; *Cot*, 104, 37; initially. In glosses:—*ist* (*kotes prât*), 5, (2); *ist* (*kotis hus*), 10, (5); *genamot* (*kotis*), 35, (1); *ist* (*kotis kerih*), 73, (5); *sint* (*kotes wortô*), 103, (14); (*birint kota*), 81, (1); and in the compound, *abkot*, 5 times, 96, (3), etc.; *abkota*, 4, (3); *abkoto*, 78, (1); *abkotoero*, 73, (3); *abkotin*, 72, (23); 77, (66); *abkoton*, 46, (8); *abkotriche*, 98, (9), after consonants; *sie* (*kota*), 9, (21); *er* (*kota*), 46, (10); (*negesêhe kotes guotlichî*), 5, (6); *dero* (*kotis priâte*), 9, (15); *unde* (*kotis chint*), 15, (4); *sînero* (*koteheîte*), 19, (3); *er* (*kotscelto*), 9, (D. 7), after sonants; *Kotis*, 17, (27); *Kota*, 17, (32), initially.

From these instances it will be seen that forms with *k* are more numerous in glosses than in the text, and that they occur indifferently after consonants or sonants. The retention of the *g* in this word was due to its use as a Church word.

Note 4.—To note is the form *quan*, in *Truôbe muôt quan ih*, 76, 5; for *kewan*. *kearwet*, 50, (10); for *kegarwet*, is a scribal error.

§ 97. O.H.G. *g* has fallen medially between vowels, producing a diphthong in *antséida*, 37, 16; *antséido*, 140, 4; *antséidont*, 139, 10; *geanséidot*, 111, (5); *fertréit*, 111, (5).

Note 1.—Latin *g* remains medially in *orginson*, 94, 4.

§ 98. *gg* appears once, in *lugge*, 4, 3. In all other instances *gg* shows the Upper Germ. shift to *kk*. Examples are:—*ekka*, 149, 7; *lekkîn*, 79, (16); etc.; *lukke*, 32, 17, etc.; *mucca*, 104, 31; *rukke*, 17, 41, etc.; *âwekke*, 106, 40.

Note 1.—In the following instances *gg* appears without the Upper German shifting, but with the M.H.G. analogical forms, with simplification of the double consonant even after short vowels:—*hugo*, 118, C. 24; *hugen*, 62, 8, and in all the forms of the verb and its compounds:—*irhugo*, 37, 5, etc.; *gehugo*, 76, 13; *behugent*, 21, 28; and in *ligen*, 89, (7) and its various parts and compounds:—*analigent*, 26, 12; *irligent*, 139, 8; *geligen*, 34, 5; (*infin.*).

gg has also been simplified in *lego*, 70, 14; *legent*, 50, 21; *lege* (*subj.*) 83, 4; 113, 14'; *analegen*, 149, 1; beside the forms with *kk*, as above.

Note 2.—To note is the spelling with *gk* in *newegke*, 35, 12.

§ 99. (a) Finally *g* remains usually. Examples are:—*burg*, 30, 22, etc.; *dîng*, 36, 26, etc.; *sang*, 12, 6, etc.; *tag*, 1, 2, etc.; *arg*, 55, 6, etc.; *lang*, 72, 14, etc.; *kang*, 36, 7; *pring*, 34, 17; *mag*, 2, 6, etc.; *giêng*, 16, 4, etc.; *lag*, 17, 6, etc.; and the suffixes *-ing*, in *arming*, 33, 7, etc.; *frunscing*, 41, 9; *chuning*, 23, 7, etc.; and *ig*, in *durftig*, 15, 2, etc.; *éwig*, 29, 6, etc.; *chreftig*, 30, 20, etc.; *sculdig*, 50, 14, etc.; *wéneg*, 37, 7, etc.

(b) In a few cases *c* (written *c* or *k*) appears for final *g* in glosses, after consonants and vowels, and before consonants or vowels. These are:—*dinc*, 72, (11); 84, (1); *anafanc*, 103, (35); *chuninc*, 16, (10); 92, (1); *gesik*, 83, (3); *lobsanc*, 90, (*Int.*); *fîrrotak*, 91, (1); *suónotak*, 74, (3); 96, (3); *wek*, 17, (31); 84, (14); 101, (9); *kehengîc*, 68, (11); *chereftic*, 88, (1); *nîdik*, 100, (5).

(c) The writing *ch* occurs in several instances, both in text and gloss; in:—*purch*, 58, (15); *burch*, 77, (43); 78, (*Int.*); 108, (23); *erdpurch*, 107, (11); *dinch*, 14 times, 4, 9, etc.; *friscinch*, 28, (6); *osteirfriskinch*, 20, (3); *fruscinch*, 82, (12); *hómberch*, 71, (16); *gedwanch*, 101, (21); *kedwanch*, 70, (20); *kedwinch*, 83, 8; *chlanch*, 150, 5; *chuninch*, 10 times, 5, 3, etc.; *iunch*, 67, (28); *muódinch*, 70, 19; *rinch*, 95, (10); *sanch*, 94, (*Int.*); *saltirsanch*, 80, 3; *saltersanch*, (3); *scalsanch*, 70, (22); *suónodach*, 100, (8); *suónotach*, 13, (4); 75, (8); *urstanttach*, 23, (1); *wech*, 8, (8); 17, (27); *wîch*, 45, (10); *zurganch*, 65, (4); *nemach*, 79, (16); *arch*, 72, 8; *funzich*, 105, (18); *rehtfrumich*, 100, (1); *ingiênych*, 71, 6; *sluóch*, 51, 2.

(d) *gh* occurs in *burgh*, 111, (5); *heîligh*, 85, 2; *manigh*, 68, (18); *wizzigh*, 106, 43; *analagh*, 104, 38; *sluógh*, 104, 36.

Note.—All these writings are used indifferently before vowels or consonants:—*g* occurs before *m* in *chreftig*, 30, 20; before *u* in *durftig*, 69, 6; but before *p* in *pirig*, 1, 3; and *-s* in *durftig*, 94, 5; *c* before *-s* in *wek*, 17, (31); but *l* in *lobsanc*, 90, (*Int.*); and *i* in *fírrotak*, 91, (1); *ch* before *s* in *arch*, 72, 8; and *ch* in *suónotach*, 13, (4); but before *n* in *wech*, 17, (27); and *u* in *wech*, 8, (8); *gh* before *p* in *heíligh*, 85, 2; but before *i* in *wizzigh*, 106, 43; and *n* in *manigh*, 68, (18).

§ 100. (*a*) finally in the syllable O.H.G. *g* remains usually before all vowels and consonants. Examples:—*tagalti*, 34, 15, etc.; *manigfalti*, 35, 8, etc.; *mûrgfäre*, 102, 15; *ganghéilen*, 36, 23; *heíligheit*, 92, 5; *iungliche*, 102, 5; *langlíbi*, 54, 24, etc.; *dingman*, 73, 22; *sangmeístro*, 49, 1; *ougsiune*, 20, 13; *magslaht*, 105, (38); *argtahtegi*, 27, 4; *heíligtuóm*, 89, (11); *argwillo*, 54, 16; *manigzalo*, 22, (6).

(*b*) In a few instances *g* has been shifted to *k*, when final in the syllable (written *c*). These are:—*éwicheit*, 83, (13); *éwichéite*, 4 times, 30, (14), etc.; *mahticheitin*, 89, (10); *plucheit*, 24, (14); *trurecheite*, 82, (8); *unmuozzechéit*, 70, (15); *uppecheit*, 37, 13; *uppechéit*, 59, (2); *uppecheit*, 88, 48; *wénichet*, 31, (7); *wénicheit*, 87, (7); before *-heit*; *dinclícho*, 142, 2; *eínichlichero*, 77, (69); *éweclicho*, 77, (2); *folleclicha*, 30, 20; *wíclicho*, 105, 46; before *-lich*; *sancleichen*, 76, (18); *heilictuóm*, 103, (3); and *wizzictuóm*, 19, (7).

(*c*) Both symbols even appear in *guolligchéite*, 107, (12); *mahtigchéitin*, 89, (10); *sáligcheit*, 105, (13); *uppegcheit*, 143, 8; and *sáligclicho*, 70, (19).

(*d*) In the following instances the Bavarian forms with the further shift of *c* to *ch* appear:—*anphanchlich*, 65, (15); *eínichlich*, 34, (17); 79, (18); *follechlichero*, 91, 11; *follechlichen*, 78, 12; *follechlích*, 64, 2; *gefollichlich*, 79, 16; *sunderchlích*, 4, 10; *ubermuótechlich*, 30, 24; 54, 13; *dinchliúten*, 93, (4); *dinchreht*, 71, (2); 82, (10); *dinchstellere*, 93, (4); *heilichmacha*, 95, (6); *heílichtuom*, 21 (26).

(*e*) *gh* occurs in *fíghpoúma*, 104, 33; *folleghlích*, 107, 14; *chunighrihtäre*, 67, (15); and *sanghleíchis*, 67, (1).

Note.—This variety of spelling cannot be explained as due to variety of scribes, since no one form is confined to any particular chapter, but is to be met with in every part. *g* is the most usual form, and probably the author's; *k*, *c* is almost confined to the glosses, which in other respects present more definite Upper German characteristics than the text. [§§ 69; 81, Note 2.] *ch* may be due to the later scribe, and the few instances of *gh* can easily then be explained as a confusion between the original *g* and his own *ch*, when it occurs in the text, which has found its way in one or two instances into the glosses.

k

§ 101. O.H.G. *k* from Germ. *k* shows the Upper Germ. shift to *ch*. Examples:—*chela*, 5, 11, etc.; *chint*, 4, 3, etc.; *chleîni*, 63, 7; *chlinga*, 35, 9, etc.; *chorb*, 80, 7; *choufe*, 43, 13; *chraft*, 17, 2, etc.; *chumftig*, 9, 20, etc.; *chûmo*, 142, 7; *chunst*, 103, (10); *chunt*, 15, 10, etc.; *pechnâhen*, 68, 10.

The only exceptions are:—*craft*, 45, 2; *crefte*, 20, 2; 67, 34; *comelîcho*, 26, 14; 30, 25.

Note 1.—Latin *k* appears as *ch* in:—*chamero*, 18, 6; 35, 5; *chameron*, 149, 5; *chamerlinga*, 40, 14; *chelih*, 74, (9); *cheliche*, 74, (9); in all the forms of *christenheit*, 21, (15), etc.; *christinheite*, 85, (16); *christanheite*, 98, (7), etc.; except the two instances, *cristenheit*, 8, (2); *cristenheite*, 30, (11); and in *cristane*, 54, (17); in all forms of *chrûce*, as in *chrûce*, 33, (21), etc.; *chriûce*, 41, (1); *chriûze*, 56, (5), etc.; *chriûzege*, 63, (4), etc.; *chriûcigot*, 43, (1); and its compounds, except in *crûces*, 83, (1); *criûzegotin*, 37, 12.

Note 2.—*cantiken*, 149, 1; *canticon*, 136, 3; only occur with *c*. In these instances we have to do with Church words, in which Latin influence has retained the *k* in some cases.

§ 102. *Ch* in this Up. Germ. text, arises also from the Germ. sound-group *qu*, after which a following *e* or *i* has usually become *o* or *u*. [See under *e*, § 7, *a*; *i*, § 11, *c*.] Examples are:—all the forms of the verb *cheden*, as in *chido*, 14, 4, etc.; *chît*, 1, 1, etc.; *cheden*, 25, 2, etc.; and its compounds, *forechad*, 118, O. 108; *inchît*, 12, 4, etc.; *widerchedenton*, 80, (8); *zuôcheden*, 15, 2; *folchete*, 9, D. 2; all the forms of *chomen*, as in *chumo*, 12, 5, etc.; *chomen*, 5, 5, etc.; *châmen*, 18, 5, etc.; and its compounds, *afterchomen*, 48, 12, etc.; *anacham*, 106, 18; *follechomen*, 13, 1, etc.; *inchâme*, 81, (5); *niûchomin*, 73, (17). *ch-* appears also for *qu-* in *châlo*, 67, (26); *nechâle*, 41, 10; *chalelico*, 118, R. 130; *chele*, 75, 13; *chellent*, 69, 2; *cheli*, 78, 1; *chelot*, 10, 7; *chelunga*, 43, (18); *chena*, 108, 9, etc.; *chenun*, 1, 1, etc.; *chechên*, 121, 3; and the forms of the verb *chicchen*, as in *chiccho*, 131, 17; *chichta*, 4, 4, etc.; *zechicchenne*, 118, O. 109, etc.; and its compounds, *erchicchen*, 87, 11; *bechihtost*, 70, 20.

Note 1.—*hît*, 4, 2; is a scribal error for *chît*.

Note 2.—*chu* from Germ. *qu-* occurs 3 times only, in *chuît*, *chûit*, and *chuit*, all in 118, +.

Note 3.—To be noted is the initial *ch* in the proper names, *Chusi*, 7, 1; *Châmis*, 77, 51; 105, 22.

Note 4.—*k* has been lost regularly in the pret. pres. verb *sol*, 2, 7, etc.; *sal*, 4 times in glosses, 34, (20), etc.; *nesal*, 57, (7); 88, (45); also glosses; *solst*, 84, 9; and all the forms of this verb; a loss due only to the scribe, but of value in fixing the date of the MS.

§ 103. Medially also, O.H.G. *k* from Germ. *k* shows the Up. Germ. shift to the affricata after consonants. Examples are:—*scalcha*, 89, 13, etc.; *welchi*, 54, 22; *marcha*, 7, 7, etc.; *sterchi*, 64, (8); *ferdenchen*, 37, 8, etc.; *wenchet*, 108, 23; *dunchen*, 77, 66, etc.

Note 1.—Before the consonant, in the weak pret. forms, *ch* is the most usual form for this text, but the *g* of Notker's other works [Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 144, Note 4] does occur after *-n*. Examples of *-ch* are:—*starchta*, 104, 24; *starchton*, 140, 7; *gestarchtost*, 40, 13; *tranchta*, 77, 15; *wanchton*, 101, 12; those with *-g* are:—*scangta*, 74, 8; *trangtost*, 59, 5; *wangtôn*, 13, 3; 52, 4; *wangton*, 72, 2; *newangti*, 150, 12. The writing *-c* occurs also in *bescrancta*, 40, 10; *nehantost*, 59, 3; *stuncta*, 31, 4; *kestuncte*, 34, 16; *irtrantost*, 64, 10; *wancti*, 118, O. 110, always after *-n*, as in the case of *-g*.

Note 2.—Latin *c* has become the affricata *-ch* after consonants in: *archana*, 109, 1; *charchâre*, 104, (20); between vowels the same writing occurs to express the double spirant, in *gramatiche*, 77, (43); *grammatiche*, 77, (12); *tunicho*, 70, (7).

It has become *g* between vowels in: *brediga*, 80, (3); *prediga*, 88, (51); 107, (16); *predigo*, 5 times, 20, (4), etc.; *predigon*, 29, (10); 92, (3); *predigondo*, 45, (4); *gebredigot*, 67, 9; 88, 53; and *phogat*, 34, 1; as usually in Otfried and in the modern forms. In *cantiken*, 149, 1; *canticon*, 136, 3; Church words, the *c* remains unshifted.

§ 104. Germ. *k* when geminated has been shifted to *cch*, the Up. Germ. form. Examples:—*decchi*, 35, 8, etc.; *ungeflecchot*, 17, 24, etc.; *recchen*, 73, 17 (Goth. *rakjan*); *srecchen*, 118, Q. 122; *bliccha*, 96, 4; *striccha*, 17, 6, etc.; *bocchen*, 65, 15; *wiltstocche*, 95, (13); *zucchen*, 9, D. 9.

Note 1.—An analogical *cch* is found also in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. pres. indic., in the sg. impf. and past participle in:—*decchet*, 102, 11; *decchest*, 103, 3; *chicchet*, 112, 7; *recchet*, 118, O. 108; *nerecchest*, 84, 6; *pacchet*, 20, 10; *wecchet*, 62, 2; *wecche*, 79, 3; the parts.:—*kedrucchet*, 9, 19; *erwecchet*, 77, 65; *irzucchet*, 43, 11; and in the noun *frecchi*, 108, (6).

On the other hand *ch* occurs for *cch* in a few instances, as in:—*unflechetemo*, 100, 2; *ungeflechote*, 118, A. 1; *neirrêchent*, 17, 11; *smechen*, 44, (2); *wacher*, 62, 2; *wachero*, 56, 9; *kerechenot*, 83, 7.

§ 105. Finally, as initially and medially, Germ. *k* appears as the affricata *ch* in this text. Examples are:—*folch*, 52, 5, etc.; *milch*, 22, 5, etc.; *werltrinch*, 76, (19), etc.; *scalch*, 18, 12, etc.; *stanch*, 10, (7), etc.; *werch*, 1, 6, etc.; *ûflanch*, 59, (2); *starch*, 9, D. 9, etc.; *tranch*, 65, (6), etc.; *getranch*, 109, 7.

Note 1.—The confusion between the symbols for the spirant *h* and the affricata *ch*, induced by the use of the writing *ch* to express the spirant, has led to the use of the simple *h* in certain instances to express the affricata. These are:—*scalh*, 115, 16; 142, 12; *werh*, 6 times, 32, 4, etc.; *welh*, 54, 22.

Note 2.—The writing with *g* [see Braune's O.H.G. Gram. § 144, Anm. 4] is not frequent in this text. It occurs only in *dang*, 4 times, 72, 1, etc.; *blig*, 134, 7; *plig*, 134, 7; *folg*, 84, 7; *stang*, 44, 9; *scalg*, 77, 70; *werg*, 5 times, 8, 4, etc.; *hantwerg*, 101, 27; *trang*, 22, 5; *getrang*, 65, 6.

Note 3.—*gh* occurs in *wergh*, 6 times, 36, 24, etc.; *crabewergh*, 105, 19.

Note 4.—*scalhc*, 118, S. 140, is a scribal error for *scalch*.

§ 106. Finally in its syllable in a compound, O.H.G. *k* appears usually as *ch*. Examples:—*blichfiûre*, 77, 48; *plichfiûr*, 104, 32; *undanchpâre*, 25, (3); *gedanchhafte*, 76, 13; *scalchforhtun*, 18, (9); *scalchslahta*, 68, (37); *scalchwerchen*, 80, (7); *suôzstanchperge*, 91, (13); *werchpriéuin*, 93, (1); *werchmahtigi*, 8, 2; *werchliûte*, 118, Z.; *werchreht*, 14 times, 118, A. 5, etc.; *werchrehten*, 3 times, 118, B. 16.

Note 1.—The writing *c* occurs in:—*scalchêit*, 75, (13); *scalcheit*, 76, (11); *scalclicho*, 82, (19); *starclich*, 35, (9); *h* in *chehprunnen*, 45, 5; *scalhlih*, 18, 10; *scalhlicha*, 18, 10; *scalhlichun*, 18, 10; *g* in *stargmûotig*, 7, 12; *gh* in *werghreht*, 118, D. 26.

§ 107. *k* in the combination *sk* remains as a rule in writing. Examples are:—

(a) initially: *scâf*, 8, 8, etc.; *scalle*, 9, 7; *skerm*, 5, 13, etc.; *scilt*, 34, 2, etc.; *script*, 5, 6, etc.; *sculdig*, 10, 4, etc.; *scameen*, 6, 11, etc.; *geskéhen*, 118, 134; *skiézen*, 10, 3, etc.; *scrodôst*, 7, 10, etc.

(b) medially: *fisca*, 104, 29; *fleisce*, 15, (8), etc.; *frosca*, 77, (49); *irdiskiû*, 72, (1); *mennisco*, 21, 7, etc.; *eîscon*, 49, 10; *gefelscen*, 18, 10; *fersculdet*, 50, 6.

(c) finally, twice only in the text: in *fleîsk*, 104, 40; *fléisk*, 118, P. 120; more frequently in glosses, as in *drasc*, 103, (14); *fleisk*, 15, (9); *wunsc*, 108, (5); or in the compounds:—*fleîschicha*, 73, (16); *fleîschliche*, 17, (39); *fleischliche*, 73, (16); *fleischlichiu*, 46, (5); *fleischlichen*, 97, (6).

Note 1.—*c* has been lost after *s* before a consonant in *fleîsliche*, 44, (8).

§ 108. Forms with *sch* are, however, already fairly frequent.

(a) 57 instances occur initially, of which 2 only are glosses, as in *schâmen*, 6, 11; *schandon*, 8, 3; *schatue*, 16, 9; *schelten*, 30, 14; *ungeschendet*, 70, 1; *schillet*, 28, 3; *schîmen*, 77, 14; *schînet*, 3, 9, etc.; *schéin*, 8, 3; *scherm*, 17, 19, etc.; *schirm*, 17, 3, etc.; *schirmâre*, 17, 3, etc.; *schirmen*, 70, 3; *schuldin*, 18, 14; *unschuldig*, 7, 9; *schîelten*, 20, 12; *scheîden*, 8, 1; *schéinare*, 102, 8; *schéitela*, 7, 17; *schîûzet*, 59, 6; *geschéhen*, 2, 7, etc.; or in glosses: *kescheffidon*, 17, (11), and *gescephido*, 29, (10).

(b) Medially 69 instances occur, of which 9 are glosses, as in *eîschota*, 20, 5; *keeschoen*, 9, 21; *merefîscha*, 8, 9; *horscho*, 9, 16; *himeleschen*, 77, 56; *kehursche*, 9, 20; *irdische*, 59, 2, etc.; *loschet*, 17, 12; *mennischo*, 8 times, 2, 8, etc.; *mennischen*, 18 times, 8, 5, etc.; *mennischon*, 9 times, 5, 9, etc.; *mischton*, 105, 36; *wascho*, 6, 7; *tische*, 22, 5; or in glosses: *flêische*, 5, (6), etc.; *himilschiû*, 17, (10); *irdischiu*, 38, (1); *chiûsche*, 44, (9); *mennischin*, 17, (12), etc.; *rosche*, 28, (8).

(c) Finally the writing *sch* occurs only in *flêisch*, 33, 1; 72, 26, etc.; *uunsch*, 16, 14; in the text; in *flêisch*, 44, (3); or finally in the syllable, in *flêischlichen*, 43, (25); in glosses.

Thus in all positions, forms with *sc* are regular for the glosses, while in the text itself *sch* is fairly frequent initially and medially. Finally instances with either form are rare, but in those which do occur, the writing *sc* is the exception.

The occurrence of both writings in the same word, as in *geskêhen*, 118, R. 134; *geschêhen*, 2, 7; *skerm*, 5, 13; and *schirm*, 17, 3; *scameen*, 6, 11; and *schamen*, 6, 11; *flêisce*, 15, (8); and *flêische*, 101, 6; *wunsce*, 69, 3; and *uunsch*, 16, 14; points to a uniform pronunciation *š*, with a retention of the older spelling in the greater number of instances.

Note 1.—Another writing for final *-sk* as for final *-k* is *-sg*, in *flêisg*, 10 times, 27, 7, etc.; *frosg*, 77, 45; *tisg*, 68, 23; *wasg*, 50, 4; *wesg*, 50, 4; all in the text except two instances of *flêisg*, 33, (9), and 44, (3).

Note 2.—*mennescheheit*, 16, (6); with *-sch* for *-sch*; *sichchure*, 45, (2); for *sichiure* are scribal errors.

h

§ 109. Initially O.H.G. *h* is regular; it has fallen, as in other dialects, before *l*, *r*, and *w*; as in *lûtter*, 85, 5; *ros*, 31, 9; *wer*, 4, 6.

Note 1.—An inorganic *h* appears in a few instances before an initial vowel; these are: *hâbent*, 54, 18; *helfentpeîne*, 44, 9; *helfent-peîninen*, 44, 9; *hêigin*, 34, 24, 25; *hêigînt*, 92, (5); *neheîgen*, 17, 29; 50, 16; *neheîgin*, 34, 24; *nehêigîn*, 146, 9; *hôren*, 57, 6; and the proper names, *helias*, 90, 3; *heli*, 77, 64; *hismahelite*, 82, 8; forms due merely to scribal carelessness, and occurring after consonants as well as vowels. [See Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 152, Note 1.]

Note 2.—*genûen*, 109, 5, is a scribal error for *gahnuan*.

§ 110. Medially the writing *ch* appears already in this text for the spirant *-h* before consonants; the instances are: *irfichto*, 17, 39; *forchtun*, 2, 11; *nefurchto*, 3, 7; *chichta*, 4, 4; 17, 9; *liécht*, 4, 7,

tagesliêcht, 5, 5; *rechtes*, 4, 6; 6, 8; *rechte*, 5, 8·9; *rechto*, 4, 6; *unrecht*, 5, 5; *unrechte*, 3, 8; 5, 5; *lantrechtara*, 2, 10; *rechtkerno*, 9, 5; *irrichtent*, 3, 2; *ûfirrichte*, 19, 9; *richtâre*, 7, 12; *manslachte*, 13, 3; *wechsel*, 4, 3; *wuóchs*, 17, 18; *follewuóchse*, 17, 19; *zucht*, 2, 12; *gewiêchten*, 2, 2; in the text itself; *furchtit*, 96, (8); *furchtinten*, 103, (32); *liecht*, 29, (6); *machtigostin*, 103, (17); *durnochta*, 5, 8; *turnochtimo*, 25, (1); *anasicht*, 5, (8); *zuchta*, 68, (5); 93, (16); *geweîchta*, 98, (9); in glosses.

Note 1.—*c* for *ch* [see Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 144, Note 2] in *chictost*, 118, M. 93; *ferstractero*, 67, (26); and *stricton*, 139, 6; is an inexact representation of the spirant *h*.

§ 111. Medial *h* between vowels has been lost in the following instances, and contraction frequently followed—a clear proof of the aspirate nature of *h* in this position: *fliendo*, 113, 2; *gâoe*, 108, 8; *gâoton*, 105, 13; *hói*, 131, 17; *hûe*, 37, 18; *hûon*, 34, 19; *huón*, 84, 1; *hûot*, 36, 13; *huont*, 122, 4; *huóton*, 34, 15·16; *huótin*, 46, 2; *huondo*, 46, 1; *nehuóen*, 24, 3; *keschêe*, 4, 5; *fersiést*, 9, D. 1; *slândo*, 58, 13; *trâne*, 4 times, 17, 9, etc.; *trânen*, 6 times, 6, 7, etc.; *zénen*, 118, +; *céndûsendîg*, 67, 18; *zénualt*, 90, 7; *zénseitigen*, 91, 4; *zénseitigen*, 143, 9; *zêndo*, *zênden*, 118, +; *zênteiliga*, 143, 7; in the text; *durenohte*, 73, (14); *fiéo*, 1, (1); 44, (9); 88, (40); *féo*, 106, (38); *hâe*, 7, (15); *hae*, 57, (7); *hói*, 93, (16); *hóen*, 76, (17); *hóin*, 81, (1); *hóero*, 79, (11); *hóun*, 52, (7); *hóunwarta*, 77, (54); *hóinon*, 32, (3); *hóisto*, 82, (19); *hóisten*, 81, (7); *irhoit*, 108, (28); *irhóe*, 80, (4); *huóe*, 34, (16); *huondo*, 87, (9); *huonte*, 92, (1); *anlen*, 108, (11); *nâistin*, 101, (28); *gemá lun*, 17, (17); *aneséo*, 52, (7); *nesiéo*, 70, (7); *irslan*, 96, (10); *tráno*, 36, (34); *hanttuálon*, 17, (46); *zénstunt*, 89, (4); *zénzech*, 89, (4); *zegeziénne*, 67, (16).

Note 1.—Besides this loss of the aspirate *h*, spirant *h* has also fallen in *beuilo*, 30, 6; *peuile*, 71, 2; for *beuilho*, *peuilhe*, and before *-t* in *gedruoton*, 101, 21.

Note 2.—On the other hand, a glide *h* has been inserted between two vowels in *muôhet*, 42, 2; 106, 25; *hinamuôhet*, 83, 3; as in other O.H.G. texts; and in the proper names, *danihelem*, 21, 5; *hismahelite*, 82, 8; while in the verbs *biknâen*, *sâen*, *wâen*, both forms with and without medial *h* appear, in *pechnâhen*, 68, 10; and *nebechnâit*, 73, (22); *sâhet*, 36, 25; *sahet*, 36, 26; *sâhen*, 80, (3); and *kesâit*, 101, (28); *wâhet*, 147, 18; and *wat*, 34, 5, for *wâet*.

Note 3.—*h* has been substituted for *w* between vowels in *êha*, 74, (9); *êho*, 70, (15); *êhascript*, 70, (15).

Note 4.—*fahindo*, 34, (4), for *farindo*; *hube*, 34, 24, for *huhe* (from *huohe*); *niêth*,

6, 10; 25, (2); 72, 20·27, for *niêht*; *gedruohton*, 78, 11, for *gedruhodon*; *fuhrtendo*, 6, 8; for *furhtendo* are scribal errors.

Note 5.—For the influence of Germ. *h* upon the preceding vowels, see above under *a* § 1.

§ 112.—O.H.G. *hh* from Germ. *k* between vowels is written *ch*, except in the one instance, *fluôhhonte*, 108, (18), and the spirant has thus fallen together in writing with the affricata *ch* from Germ. *k* after consonants or when geminated.

Examples of *ch* for *hh*: *scachâre*, 33, (21); *sprâcha*, 18, 4; *wacha*, 101, 8; *prechen*, 2, 3; *sprechen*, 30, 19, etc.; *welicha*, 93, 12, etc.; *rîche*, 1, 4, etc.; *ferbrochen*, 30, 13, etc.; *prûchen*, 29, 1; *siêchen*, 16, (7), etc.; *weîchi*, 37, 11, etc.; *zeîchen*, 17, 15, etc.; *buôchen*, 16, (14), etc.; *suôchen*, 35, 3, etc.

Note 1.—In *precchente*, 64, (6); *recchinde*, 98, (8); *irricche*, 102, (6); *smeccherên*, 38, 12; *wolechen*, 98, (7); *cch* is wrongly written for *ch*.

Note 2.—Medial *ch* has been lost in the contracted forms: *wele*, 11 times, 8, 3, etc.; *welee*, 8 times, 32, 11, etc.; *weler*, 31, 8; 67, 12; 100, 6; *welez*, 12 times, 2, 8, etc.; *weles*, 67, 19; *welemo*, 6, 6; 118, A. 1; *weliu*, *weliû*, 20 times, 18, 6, etc.; *welero*, 5 times, 32, 4, etc.; *welen*, 4 times, 77, 6, etc.; *sowelee*, 75, 1; 77, 66; *soweles*, 55, 10; *sowelês*, 137, 3; *sowelero*, 101, 3.

§ 113. Finally also the writing *ch* has been used to express the spirant *h* from Germ. *h*; the instances are: *keschach*, 17, 16; *durch*, 4 times, 11, 5, etc.; *noch*, 7, (10); *wiêchwerch*, 77, (69).

Note 1.—*geschac*, 17, 8, is a scribal error for *geschach*.

Note 2.—*h* has fallen finally after the long vowel in *hô*, 3 times, 26, 6, etc.; *ha*, 21, (14) (for *hâ*); and *zô*, 103, 2; and after a consonant in *befal*, 110, 9, as in the modern form (see § 111, Note 1).

Note 3.—*hh* has been simplified to *h* in *wiêhus*, 73, 7; final *h* in the first element of a compound has also fallen, in some instances, in words compounded with *durh*, as in *durnohte*, 22, (5); *durnohti*, 38, 5; 54, (1); 58, 14; *durstiêzzzen*, 21, 17.

§ 114. The writing *-ch* for Germ. *k*, when final occurs in all cases, but most frequently in the suffix *-lich*. Examples are: *loch*, 68, 16; *siêch*, 6, 4; *unsich*, 8 times, 2, 3, etc.; *iûch*, 4 times, 2, 10, etc.; *negeswîch*, 21, 12; *ouûch*, 3 times, 3, 4, etc.; in the text; *buôch*, 43, (25); *besuôch*, 106, (10); *gibich*, 20, (3); *ich*, 30, (11); *mich*, 4, (5); *dich*, 102, (6); *brach*, 107, (11); in glosses. They are however not numerous, except in the suffix *-lich*, as in *gelîch*, 4, 5 etc.; *guôllich*, 7, 7; *mannolich*, 2, 12, etc.; *solich*, 117, 17; *wunderlîch*, *wiêlich*, 8, 2; *samolich*, 16, 10; *gotelich*, 63, (10); *iegelîch*, 93, (2). *Lîch* occurs 27 times in all, 14 being in glosses; *lîh*, 155 times, of which only 10 are glosses.

Note 1.—Other writings for *ch* from Germ. *k* are: *g* in *strig*, 68, 23; *blig*, 134, 7; *plig*, 134, 7; *gh*, in *matoscregh*, 104, 34; *rugh*, 36, 20; 67, 3; *roûgh*, 101, 4; *strigh*, 56, 7; [for the sound value of these various graphics see Braune, O.H.G. Gram. § 144, Note 4].

Note 2.—In *allichêit*, 95, (11); *siêchêite*, 102, 3; the writing *-ch* has been adopted even for *hh* arising medially from composition. *seh*, 79, (10) for *sê* is a scribal error.

Chap. VIII. Law of Initial Consonants.

§ 115. An investigation of the treatment of O.H.G. *b*, *d*, *g* and *t* in this text, gives the following result for Notker's Law of initial consonants.

I. In the text itself:—

(a) O.H.G. *b*, corresponding to Germ. *b* and *þ*, appears as *b* after all sonants, with 24 exceptions. [§§ 68, *b*.; 69, *a*.]

as *p* after consonants, with 11 exceptions. [§§ 68, *a*; 69, *b*.]

(b) O.H.G. *d*, corresponding to Germ. *þ*, appears as *d* after all sonants, with 7 exceptions. [§§ 82, *b*; Note 2, *b*.]

as *t* after consonants, with 6 exceptions. [§§ 82, *a*; Note 2, *a*.]

(c) O.H.G. *g* from Germ. *g* or *g*, appears as *g* after all sonants, with 13 exceptions. [§ 96, *b*.]

as *k* after consonants, with 33 exceptions. [§ 96, *a*, etc.].

(d) O.H.G. *t* from Germ. *d* appears as *t* after all sonants as well as consonants [§ 85], except in 6 cases after vowels, 1 after a consonant, and in a certain number of instances after *-n*. [§ 86.]

Further, initially in the sentence with very few exceptions, and less regularly in the phrase, the voiceless explosives appear. [§§ 68; 82, *a*, etc., Note 2; 85, *c*.; 86, Note 4; 96 *c*.]

Hence the usually accepted law may be given for this text as for Notker's other works, namely, that Up. Germ. *p*, *t*, *k*; (Franc. *b*, *d*, *g*), have been voiced initially after sonants; but this method of formulating the law leaves a difficulty. If we are to start from the Up. Germ. standpoint, *d* and *t* must have fallen together as *t* and have undergone the same further treatment, which is obviously not the case. *t*, corresponding to Franc. *t*, has been voiced only in a few instances, 4 times after vowels and by no means regularly after *n*, [§ 86]; whereas in the case of O.H.G. *d*, only 7 exceptions occur [§ 82, *b*, Note 2.]

This difficulty however disappears entirely if we formulate the law thus :—

O.H.G. *b, d, g*, are shifted to *p, t, k*, initially in the sentence or after consonants, but the presence of a preceding sonant prevents this shift.

Note 1.—That the tendency to voice the *t* from Germ. *d* after *n* must not be confused with the law of initial consonants is clear, from the fact of the same tendency operating medially, whereas the influence of a preceding sonant or consonant affects the initial consonant only.

§ 116. A few exceptions occur, in which the scribe, not knowing the law in his own dialect, has not understood it, and consequently has confused the voiced and voiceless sounds ; in one or two cases treating general O.H.G. *t* in the same way as the Up. Germ. *t* from general O.H.G. *d* ; and in others writing the voiceless explosives after sonants and less frequently the voiced after all consonants.

§ 117. The personal pronouns are exceptions ; the few forms in which the interchange of *t* and *d* has been observed [§ 82, Note 3] must be traces of the original treatment, since the author has in other instances carried out his system regularly, while the prevalent forms with *d* in all positions must have been introduced by the scribe from his own dialect. These words naturally appear very seldom as glosses, or we should probably have had numerous instances with *t* even after sonants, in accordance with the usual method of the scribe of the glosses. [See below § 118.] *Got* again with *g* in all positions [§ 96, Note 3], is easily explained as due to the scribe, especially as in this case, forms with *k* are found in the glosses. Moreover, an irregularity of dialect in the case of a Church word can never present great difficulties.

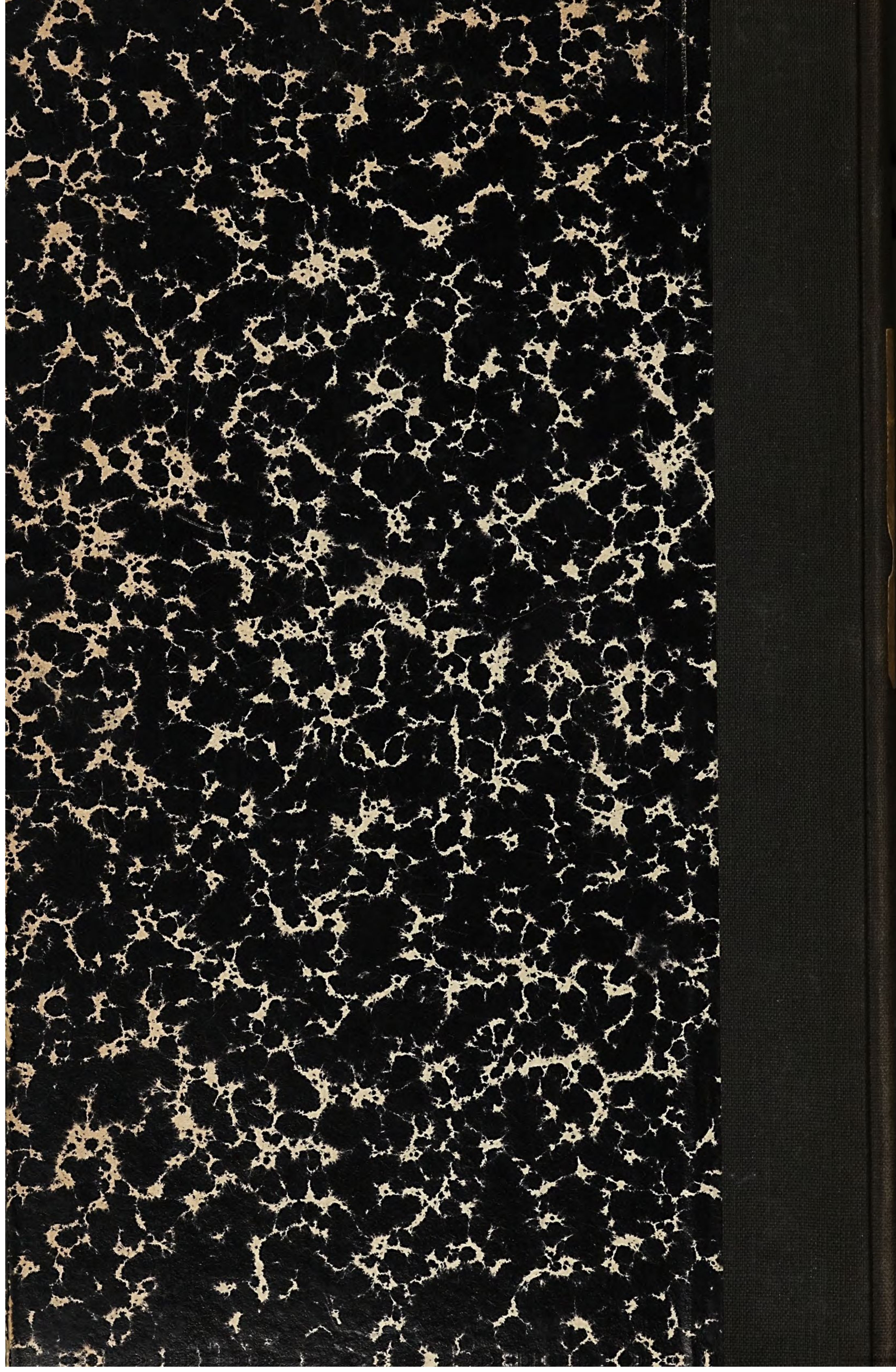
Note 1.—The reason for the unvoicing initially in the sentence is not so clear. There must have been a strong tendency to become unvoiced in all accented positions, which was prevented by a sonant immediately preceding.

§ 118. In the glosses, the proportion of voiceless consonants even after sonants, is so much greater than in the text, that they must be taken as the normal forms, and the instances in which they appear voiced, as really exceptions, due to the influence of the forms of the text ; otherwise it would be impossible to account for the numerous instances in which *p, t, k* appear after vowels.

Curriculum vitæ.

I was born on March 6th. 1863, at Orcheston St. Mary, Wilts, of which parish my father was then Rector. At the age of nine I was sent to a private school (Miss Bidwell's) in Devizes and remained there six years. In January 1887, I entered Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, passing the Preliminary Examination for Women Students the following June. I migrated in January 1888, to St. Hugh's Hall, and passed the Final Examination in Modern Languages in June 1889. Since then I have continued to reside at St. Hugh's as Vice Principal, and during the past year I have lectured on Old English to Women Students in Oxford and at the Royal Holloway College. During my five-and-a-half years' residence in Oxford I have attended the Lectures of the following Professors and Lecturers:—Professors Napier and Wright, Mr. York Powell, Dr. H. Krebs, M. Bué and the Rev. J. Bowley; during the Long Vacation of 1891 I studied Old French in Heidelberg under Professor Neumann. To all my sincere thanks are due; but especially to Professor J. Wright, not only for his ever ready help and valuable advice during the progress of this work, but also for the first suggestion of it.

5. 22



Wardale, E. E.,

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